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THE BEDE HISTORIES

SERIES III

EDITED BY H. L. POWELL

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

BY

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DISCOVERIES" (FROM HAKLUYT), ETC.

VOL. II

A.D. 1485 TO 1688

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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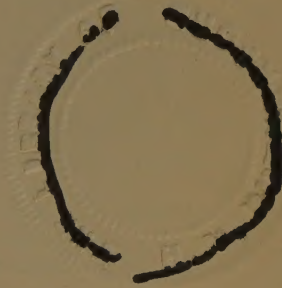
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INTRODUCTION AND BOOK LIST

IN offering to young students and general readers a fresh sketch of our national history in the Tudor and Stuart Ages, the author would fain beg for some charity of judgment. The epoch is so thickly crowded with events that much of interest and importance must of necessity be omitted. The mass of original material now available for study is so enormous as to be beyond the mastery of any ordinary individual, while the brilliance of the eminent historians who have dealt with the period, and the extraordinary appeal which it still makes to personal sympathy, provide additional difficulties for a modern writer.

The great dramatic artists who selected these Ages as their field—Froude and Macaulay, Carlyle and J. R. Green—created visions which are probably immortal, and it is, to say the least, disconcerting for a pedestrian modern compiler who tries to abide by the mere evidence to find that it undermines some of those cloud-capped palaces. Whether in small instances, as the last fight of the *Revenge*, or in large ones, as the political position of the Puritans, revision looks ungracious, while the historical aspect becomes more complicated and less picturesque.

Nevertheless, the wealth of material, now so admirably edited, and the interest of recent investigations seem to call, in the name of honesty, for efforts to make their results more generally available. The present volume represents one humble effort.

The dramatic nature of the struggles of these two centuries offers, by its very fascination, another pitfall to the student. The interest is still living and is still more than personal. Henry VIII and Wolsey, Elizabeth and Mary Stewart, Strafford, Charles I and Cromwell, appeal to us almost as vehemently as to their contemporaries. Actors who sank to dust three hundred years ago still stir our pulses: they stand for principles deathless while England lives, true types as vivid as those portrayed by Shakespeare for their eyes to see.

GUIDE TO STUDY

It is outside the scope of this series, and certainly beyond the power of the present writer, to offer a full bibliography, but it may, perhaps, be useful to distinguish among the groups of authorities.

I. First come the unparalleled series of national archives (which

cannot lie):—The *Calendars of State Papers*, (a) *Domestic*, (b) *Foreign*. These now cover almost the whole of our period and count nearly a volume to a year. They are indexed and provided with prefaces which form a guide to the importance and use of each volume.

Acts of the Privy Council (32 vols., 1542–1603).

Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum (Firth and Rait).

With these rank the rich stores printed by the *Historical MSS. Commission*, the list whereof repays attention (List, Stationery Office, 1907, or S.P.C.K. *Helps for Students* No. 22, 1920). The *Journals of the House of Commons* also have been re-issued (1914 ff.).

II. From the great original documents compilations and selections have been edited by eminent modern scholars, particularly:—

Select Cases before the Star Chamber, I. S. Leadam.

The Doomsday of Inclosures, I. S. Leadam.

Tudor Constitutional Documents, J. R. Tanner.

Select Statutes (Elizabeth and James I), G. W. Prothero.

Documents illustrative of English Church History, Gee and Hardy.

Select Naval Documents, H. W. Hodges.

Constitutional Documents (Puritan Revolution), S. R. Gardiner.

English Economic Hist. Select Documents, A. E. Bland.

Reign of Henry VII, A. F. Pollard.

Beside these come the standard histories, particularly—

Reign of Henry VIII (to fall of Wolsey), J. S. Brewer.

History of the Church of England (1529–1570), R. W. Dixon.

History of England, etc. (1603–1649), S. R. Gardiner.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and Last Years of the Protectorate, C. H. Firth.

And all other works and monographs by Professor Firth upon the Stewart period are of first importance, including biographies in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Articles in the *D. N. B.* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.), many of which are excellent, have short special bibliographies, and the *Cambridge Modern History* (Vol. IV)—very useful—has full ones (cc. viii to xi).

III. Contemporary or sub-contemporary works:—(a) Collections, (b) histories, (c) memoirs, (d) diaries, and (e) letters.

(a) Hakluyt, Rushworth, Strype, Whitelocke.

(b) Hall, Holinshed, Stowe, Camden, Fuller, Clarendon, Burnet.

(c) Cavendish's Wolsey, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mrs. Hutchinson, Duchess of Newcastle, Bunyan, and others.

Few of these are unbiassed. The compilers were intensely conscious of their own parts in their exciting times and naturally state their case strongly. *Clarendon* is especially valuable, and should be studied in the recent Clarendon Press edition, as should Burnet. The memoirs should be read in Firth's and other modern editions.

(d) Diaries meant for publication, as Evelyn's perhaps was, may suffer from prudence or from partisan feeling, but the *Diaries* of Machyn, Pepys and Josselin are untainted. The last

(R. H. S., Camden series) is the naïve confession of a typical puritan pastor, 1618-1683, and extraordinarily illuminating.

(e) Letters. The most striking are :—

T. Wright, Queen Elizabeth and her Times.

Letters of Cromwell (Carlyle's, ed. S. C. Lomas).

For others see *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IV, pp. 888-891.

The Verney Papers (Camden Soc.). These have also been threaded together more fully and clearly by Lady Verney, and there are similar, though less arresting, volumes on the families of Newdigate, Leigh of Lyme, Fanshawe, Betts, Guise, and others.

IV. *Local Records* are important for the social history of these two centuries, when it can never be assumed that any one region of England was like any other. The North, the West, the Midlands, the East, the South-East, differed widely; nor was Lancashire always like Yorkshire, nor even the West Riding much like the North. The *Victoria County Histories*, the appropriate volumes of the various County Record and Archæological societies, the Surtees, Chetham and other societies, as well as many local histories, supply a great deal of detail; so do the published records of some of the towns :—Bristol, Shrewsbury, Leicester, Manchester, Norwich, Southampton, and others.

V. Modern research and criticism is rapidly enlarging and revising our knowledge, especially of the seventeenth century. The *Navy Records Society* is filling a great gap. In the *English Historical Review* appears continually new matter which sometimes upsets old established assumptions (*e.g.*, Neale's *History of the Puritans* can no longer be taken as a reliable authority). Only a few of the principal monographs can be mentioned here :—

The King's Council in the North, R. R. Reid.

The Council of Wales, C. Skeel.

The Reformation, J. P. Whitney.

Henry VIII and The Protector Somerset, A. F. Pollard.

Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, Cardinal Gasquet.

English Schools at the Reformation, A. F. Leach.

Colonising Activities of the English Puritans, A. P. Newton.

Samuel Pepys and the Royal Navy, J. R. Tanner.

Sea Kings of Britain, G. Callender.

History of British Joint Stock Companies to 1720, W. R. Scott.

And articles in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society.

VI. To conclude, there is the inexhaustible field of contemporary literature. The full descriptions in Holinshed or Fuller, the vignettes drawn by Erasmus or Latimer, Clarendon or Burnet, the endless detail embedded in poetry, drama and ballads, combine with the histories, letters, and propaganda of the time in pictures so brilliant and complex as almost to bewilder the memory and, surely, to enforce a conviction of the vanity of generalisations and the peril of drawing hard-and-fast lines.

A. D. GREENWOOD.

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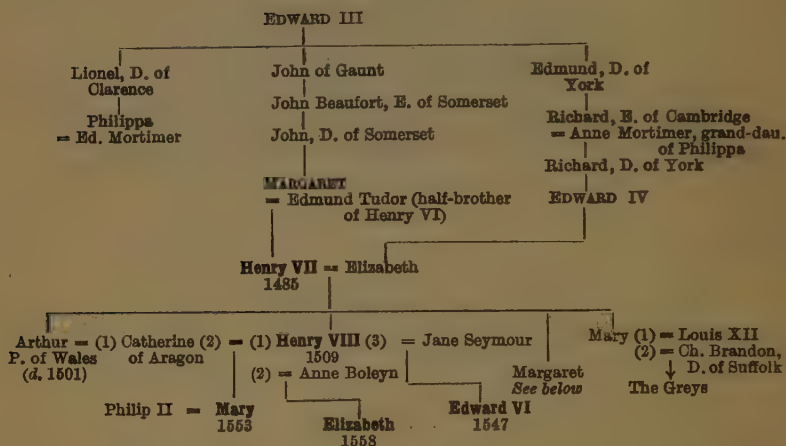
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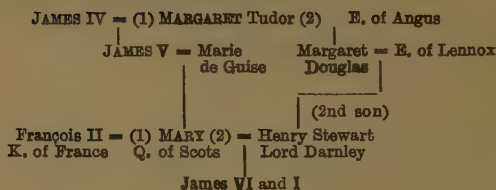
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DESCENT OF THE TUDORS

(1) England



(2) Scotland



HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

VOL. II. A.D. 1485 TO A.D. 1688

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE AGE OF THE TUDORS (1485-1603)

Tudor Sovereigns

Henry VII (Aug. 1485)

Henry VIII (April 1509)

Edward VI (Jan. 1547)

Mary I (July 1553)

(Philip and Mary, July 1554)

Elizabeth (17 Nov. 1558—March 1603)

(A) TUDOR METHODS

THE Age of the Tudors stands out distinctly from the ages which went before and from those which were to come after it. It was neither medieval nor modern, although some of the problems of both those ages forced themselves into prominence and had to be grappled with. The age exhibits a character of its own which makes us look back upon the sixteenth century with admiration—a vehemence in action, a boldness in experiment and change, and a courage which would hardly be matched again till our own day. This may have been the effect, partly of the startling news, brought during the reign of Henry VII, of the vastly increased space of the known world, its newly found lands, human races and valuable products; partly of the use made of the recent invention of printing, which, introduced in the latter half of the fifteenth century, was early in the sixteenth spreading the ideas and news of one nation among the others; partly to the rapid changes which followed upon discoveries and novelties and which opened new careers to the adventurous. There had been plenty of ideas during the previous three centuries, but they were known only among the few, in universities or courts; now they might be told and argued in almost every town and manor-house, and not only by the experienced or well-educated, but by people who only half understood the book or sermon which excited their zeal or their wrath.

Probably this is one reason why, all over Europe, speculations or reforms which had been debated by the thoughtful in the fourteenth century and suppressed by the powerful in the fifteenth were, in the sixteenth, rapidly put into action by popular movements. Another reason is that in the sixteenth century such movements were, more than had ever been the case before, mingled with

political agitations which were no longer solely national, no longer simply English or French or Spanish, but which affected more than one country and therefore must be termed *international*.

The course of English history, then, for the century and a quarter which is known as the Tudor period, is determined by two great currents, one national and ancient, the other international and fresh. The former includes those forces—intellectual, social and political—which can be traced from early times, which had developed during the fifteenth century, and which under the Tudors reached a more vigorous expression. In the sphere of religion and education, in the social sphere (the relations of classes, of wealth and poverty, town and country), in the sphere of commerce and navigation, the Tudor age marks, not an entirely new commencement, but a continuation, at a more rapid pace, of movements already begun.

The current of international interests, on the other hand, was newer. Never again would England be able to stand aloof from Europe; her aims would have to be modified by the interests of other countries, or other sovereigns, and that which we still term *foreign policy*, as though we could stand outside it, involved England in international problems and struggles in which, as she discovered under Mary and Elizabeth, her own freedom might actually be at stake.

The work of the Tudors and their ministers was, first to provide England with an efficient administration, next, so to direct her relations with continental powers that, small, poor and weak as she was in comparison with them, she nevertheless remained independent and self-supporting, and found for herself a sphere of expansion upon the ocean in which she could employ and develop all her best powers from that age to our own. It was a main part of their work to meet the most remarkable crisis which had befallen Europe since the ruin of the Roman Empire, and so to control the course of the *Reformation* in this country that it was saved from the terrible appeals to war which devastated France, the Netherlands and Germany, so that when the rival sections in our governing classes did at length, in the seventeenth century, break into civil war, the temper of moderation and the system of regular government due to the Tudors prevented the nation from falling into anarchy.

The first task of Henry VII was to provide an efficient administration, and he laid the foundations on which Henry VIII and Elizabeth built further. During the Lancastrian period a "constitutional" system had been developed which was the pride of English writers and the admiration of foreigners. Nearly as much attention was paid then as now to abstract ("logical") consistency, and in the abstract the English parliamentary system, and the deference paid to it by the Lancastrian kings, was nearly perfect. But there was a fatal flaw in the connection between this theoretically perfect system and the practical dealing with facts. Though the laws were admirable and nobody questioned the supremacy of parliament, almost every form of tyranny and violence had been

perpetrated during the period of the Wars of the Roses, and so little was the inconsistency noticed that Chief Justice Fortescue at that very time wrote a book to prove the superiority of the laws and government of England to those of other nations.

The carrying out of the law, so far as the people were concerned, was the duty of a whole class of judges, justices of the peace, and juries; of sheriffs and under-sheriffs in the counties, with their local constables or personal retainers; and, in towns, of mayors, bailiffs, town councillors and the like, and there were prisons here and there, in the castles of lords and bishops, and in the walled towns, with gaolers in charge of them.

The carrying out of the larger, or political, decisions of parliament was left to the King's Council (Privy Council), which included the royal ministers. It was for them to name collectors of taxes, to provide ships or troops, and to attend to all national affairs. In principle everything was provided for; yet this admirable system had failed to preserve anything of the conquests of Henry V or even to preserve tolerable order at home.

The flaw lay in the lack of control, either by the ruling body, parliament, or by the sovereign, over the individuals who ought to have carried out its decisions. The Council was composed of men so powerful that they gave posts and money to their own supporters without any thought of their fitness for the public service. Of the judges and other officials, some were paid and some, as Justices of the Peace and jurymen, were unpaid; but there was never money enough in the Exchequer to pay the salaries, nor force enough at the disposal of the under-sheriffs or bailiffs to save them from being bullied by the powerful men who kept private troops. Nobody dreamed of altering the "constitution," parliament met after almost every battle and obediently ratified its results, but the country was really governed by the unlawful practice of Livery and Maintenance.

Edward IV, who took the throne frankly by force, disregarded parliament, and was unable, therefore, to obtain the usual taxes, which must be voted by parliament, but he got at least as much by borrowing money which he never meant to repay, or by asking gifts (benevolences) which rich men were afraid to refuse. Richard III's parliament declared such benevolences illegal, but that did not prevent Richard from levying them. It seemed that representative government in England, as in other countries at this period, had become discredited by the helplessness of parliament, and that it was likely to die out, a fate which overtook the national assemblies of France and Spain, where the sovereigns became despotic.

But the Tudors did not discard parliament: it was never their method to abolish anything which might prove useful, neither did they care to create anything obviously new. Rather they preferred to build upon old foundations and evolve the new out of the old. They understood the profound attachment of their subjects

to every old custom and the regular circumstances of life. This national trait explains the perpetual popularity of a war with France. Foreigners noticed it with amused surprise. "If," said a Venetian traveller, "the king should propose to change any old-established rule, it would seem to every Englishman as if his life were taken from him; but I think the present King Henry will do away with a great many should he live ten years longer."

Parliament, then, was too ancient and dignified a part of the government to be set aside, and in the hands of the Tudor sovereigns it was made to play most useful parts. In the first place, the speeches of members of the Commons often let the Crown and its ministers know what was the average opinion of the more instructed part of the nation, and it was possible to modify government action to fit with this opinion. Secondly, by having every royal act endorsed by act of parliament the personal responsibility of sovereign and ministers was shared with a number of lords and gentry who understood the reasons of what was done and would to some extent justify and help to carry out, in the shires and the towns, the decisions of government. Thirdly, all manner of local interests, mercantile and other, were constantly provided for in the House of Commons, which thus served as a safety-valve for many a grievance. Parliament under Henry VII was mostly obedient: Henry VIII made it a kind of screen for his own arbitrary actions, even when not in accord with the wishes of the nation: under Mary parliament sanctioned but modified the reactionary policy of the Crown: Elizabeth used to take the Houses so far into her confidence that, though the members were much more independent in view and speech than ever before, it is no meaningless phrase to say that Crown and Parliament were in partnership.

But under none of the Tudors did parliament control the executive: it never appointed officials or gave them detailed instructions. Henry VII and Henry VIII completed a new machinery for carrying out the decisions of Crown and legislature by *Councils* established for special business, a kind of offshoot from the royal (Privy) Council. The Star-chamber had power to deal with cases of injustice, the High Commission Court with Church matters; the Council of the North and the old court for Wales exercised direct control in the royal name over their districts for almost the first time since the military efforts of Edward I. Though these special courts were abolished in the seventeenth century, yet the fact that parliament found itself thenceforward able to govern all parts of the kingdom was largely due to the decisive and levelling dealings of the courts and their destruction of local differences and individual privileges.

(B) PARLIAMENT

At the opening of the Tudor epoch, parliament was what would now seem a very small body. The two Houses sat separately, except when the king or the chancellor (who was the nearest approach

in those days to a prime minister) wished to address them, or when the Lower House desired a conference with the Lords.

The Lords were a combined clerical and lay assembly, bishops, abbots and priors forming the majority. Its proper president was the chancellor.

The Commons, being too numerous to enjoy that right of personal speech with the king which was the privilege of every peer, chose (ever since 1377) a representative, one of themselves, to speak their joint mind to King or Lords—and therefore called the Speaker—who also presided over their meetings. There were two classes of members, the knights of the shire and the burgesses. The members for the shire were still elected in the county court by the knights and freeholders in the presence of the sheriff, whose duty it was to listen to their shouts, and in case of disagreement to decide who was the member and announce (or “return”) to government his name, that he might not shirk the burdensome duty of travelling to London. The cities and boroughs had to pay the expenses of their members, and grudged the cost so much that sometimes the government was obliged to use threats to make them elect a member. The towns, therefore, were only too ready to accept the offer of a lord or a bishop to find a member for them, which often led to some magnate nominating a member regularly. The election properly lay with the Town Council, or with the “free men” or “burgesses”—by no means the mass of the inhabitants, but those whose position, descent or wealth qualified them to share in the government of the town and compelled them to find funds. The rule was in each town, as with the kingdom as a whole, that those who paid decided the purpose of their payments, and that those who profited most by the prosperity which was largely due to stable government, must among them do their share of the work which it entailed in their own locality: hence the heavy duties laid on the shoulders of the unpaid justices of the peace, jurymen, knights of the shire, and noblemen.

The proper business of parliament was to find money for government purposes, and it was usual for the sovereign to call parliament only when money was needed. Yet it was already thought to be unusual if more than three or four years elapsed without one. Parliament only sat for a few weeks at a time, and so much did the members dislike their duty that it was difficult for the government to keep members of the Commons from slipping away home.

When the Houses met, the king declared the session opened, and business began with divine service, in the course of which the Chancellor—always a bishop—preached a sermon which explained the reasons for which the king had summoned this parliament, and why he needed money and how much. The Commons then withdrew to discuss the arrangements. They alone voted the supply of money.

They distinguished two sources of national income, the regular

and the occasional. The former were the *customs*, the latter *taxes*. (1) *Customs duties* were always levied, being fees paid on the import and export of goods. The Great Custom was that on wool, skins and wine. On smaller articles the amounts might vary, and these variations were left to the King's Council, as they were caused either by foreign relations—as when the king wished to punish an unfriendly sovereign by making his subjects pay heavily, so as to cause them to put pressure on their monarch (a plan often effectual with Flanders)—or else by commercial policy, as when the import duties on coarse cloth were heavy, but on fine cloth lighter, while the export duty on English coarse cloth was very light; this was with the aim of encouraging English manufactures in Norfolk and Somerset. (2) The chief tax voted was that on personal property, and had originally been a kind of income tax. It had been agreed in many parliaments that the right proportions for this subsidy were one-tenth of a man's personal property in the towns and one-fifteenth in the country, the country being less rich in coin than the towns and having to provide much more service, in the way of military, police, or judicial work. But unfortunately the selfishness of the people had led to a system of exempting all sorts of property, and London had even bargained with Edward III that it should be rated at the lower proportion of the counties, a fifteenth. Finally, to make things easy fixed sums had been agreed on, each district or town paying a proportion which was never to be increased. Thus by the time of Henry VII "one tenth and fifteenth" produced no more than £34,000 (improved under Elizabeth to £104,000).

Even so, the attempt to collect a tax often produced riots, and neither sovereign nor parliament liked to ask for even the most necessary sums. The foolish cry that the king should "live of his own" was constantly raised by the very people who most grumbled at an economical court and most applauded royal "generosity." The evil results of a starved government had long been manifest: no fleet; no shipbuilding; unpaid officials seeking to live on bribes and perquisites; a rush to secure such funds as were raised, in which the powerful had always been successful; revenue forestalled by borrowing, the customs then being "mortgaged," that is, handed over to be collected by the financiers, usually foreigners, who had lent the money; and the diversion of money earmarked for special purposes, by private orders from the Crown to deduct something first for some other purpose or individual. Thus, *e. g.* "the dowry of Queen Joanna" had been used by Henry V as a limitless fund for special purposes, while the customs of Hull had become the private property of Richard, duke of York.

The bankruptcy of the government had been a principal cause of the disasters of the House of Lancaster, and the House of Tudor was faced with a similar problem. Henry VII shelved it for his own reign by a singular system of personal accumulation, Henry VIII confiscated the property of the Church; under Edward VI

and Mary a huge debt was piled up; Elizabeth, like her grandfather, restored the solvency of the Crown and the nation by a system peculiar to herself. But the problem remained unsolved, and the helplessness of the Stewarts and the parsimony of the Commons led to a clash between Crown and nation which was one of the prime causes of the Civil War.

(C) THE EUROPEAN STATES (1485-1509)

(See Table I at end of book)

In the intellectual movements which made the fifteenth century brilliant England had fallen behind the rest of Europe, owing to her absorption in civil war. Henry VII was obliged to clear away the ruins of feudalism and to re-create order in the tangle which had been made of England's social life. While he was successfully rebuilding on the old foundations, as it were, with the materials re-arranged, other nations were also reconstructing themselves in a way which altered their relations to each other and to this kingdom, and there began an era of international rivalry and struggle lasting to our own day, which, indeed, presents certain extraordinary parallels to the sixteenth century.

The countries to be considered are—first, France, Spain, and the Netherlands; next to these, the Empire (*i. e.* Austria and the smaller German states) and Italy. The catastrophe of the Turkish conquest of the Balkan peninsula had not affected England.

In all these countries, as in England, rapid changes were taking place. States became more united, larger, and stronger. Their strength was the work, not of the nobility but of a royal or central government, and therefore feudalism almost disappeared (except in Germany) and the sovereign became more powerful. But new power roused new ambitions, and in place of local feuds between nobles, at the expense of the people and the sovereign, such as had marked the Middle Ages, there were continual wars or negotiations between sovereigns of large states, each striving to obtain, whether by force or fraud, benefits for himself and his subjects at the expense of rival sovereigns and peoples. For the curse of the age was greed, a greed which assumed that, however wide the world might prove to be, it could not hold enough for neighbours to share.

(i) *France and the Netherlands*.—In France the reign of the wise king Louis XI (1461-1483) had practically extinguished feudalism and united a prosperous kingdom. Only Brittany remained to be annexed by his son, and Brittany was ruled by a young girl. But during the same period Flanders and her neighbour counties (Brabant, Zeeland, Holland, etc.) had come together under the sceptre of the House of Burgundy, whose last independent duke, Charles the Bold (1467-1477), was the great enemy of France. It was this which had led Louis XI to protect Henry Tudor in his exile from England, the Yorkist kings being allies of Burgundy. On



WESTERN EUROPE, SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

----- Boundary of the Empire, 1519.

▨ Dominions of Charles V. afterwards Hapsburg (Spain and Austria) except from 1584 DU and Z.

SP. NETH. Spanish Netherlands (from 1584).

FLA. Flanders.

Z. Zeeland.

DU. Holland and five provinces

L. Luxembourg.

LOB. Lorraine.

PAL. Palatinate.

FR. COMTÉ. Free County of Burgundy.

PIED. Piedmont.

} from 1584 United Provinces or Dutch Republic.

N. Navarre.

POM. Pomerania (from 1648 to Sweden).

WESTP. Westphalia.

A. Avignon (to the Papacy).

O. Orange.

the death of Charles the Bold, who was defeated and killed at the battle of Nancy by the free Swiss whom he intended to subdue, his principal dominions (properly called the Low Countries, or Netherlands, though the English often spoke only of Flanders) were inherited by his young daughter Mary, whose hand was promptly secured by Maximilian of Austria, heir of the Hapsburg family. Flanders then found herself, for the first time, under the rule of a German sovereign. It remained to be seen whether this would prove a menace to France or to England, which had for centuries had very close connections with Flanders, and though little danger appeared at first, the kings of both countries watched Flanders anxiously.

(ii) *Spain*.—In Spain, the marriage of Isabella (queen of Castille, 1474) with Ferdinand (king of Aragon, 1479) had united a large part of the country peaceably, and their conquest of the southern region (the Moorish or Mohammedan kingdom of Granada), completed in 1492, made them sovereigns of all the peninsula except England's ancient ally, Portugal, and the little mountain kingdom of Navarre, which naturally leant upon France. This new strength of Spain, as well as the reputation of her two sovereigns for wisdom and success, caused her to be considered the foremost state of Europe.

Thus, during the fifteenth century the *sixties* saw the consolidation of France, the *seventies* the consolidation of Spain, the *eighties* the pacification of England, while the *nineties* saw the Hapsburg ruler of the Netherlands, Maximilian, succeed to Austria, become Emperor, and marry his son, Philip the Fair, to the heiress of Spain, the princess Juana, elder daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

(iii) *Austria*.—But whereas in France, Spain and England the union of the nation under a strong royal authority was the fulfilment of a national desire and greatly to the benefit of the people, the rise of the Hapsburgs was not that of a national, but of a family, or *dynastic*, power. Austria itself was the most easterly of the German states which, taken together, formed the Empire (of which the Italian states had long ceased to form a part except in name). The Austrian dukes ruled a region stretching from Vienna to the Alps which look down on Venice, but they had not yet reached the Adriatic or acquired Bohemia or Hungary.

The head of the Hapsburgs in 1485, the Emperor Frederick III, was negligible, "a doll of an emperor" as a disappointed visitor cried. The marriage which gave his son Burgundy and Flanders opened to the Hapsburgs vaster ambitions than those of mere dukes of Austria. In the middle of Henry VII's reign (1493) Maximilian succeeded his father and was elected emperor: that dignity was, in fact, secured by the Hapsburgs, with whom it remained until Napoleon destroyed the Empire, but when Maximilian married his and Mary's son, Philip, to Juana of Castile the sovereigns of France, England and the various Italian states could not but feel oppressed by this overwhelming power, for the Hapsburgs were now planted

as rulers in Austria, Flanders, Spain and Naples—this last having come by inheritance under the sovereign of Aragon. Philip lived barely two years longer to rule Castile (1504–6), but his son Charles inherited the whole of the Austrian and Spanish dominions, and with them acquired also a revenue coming from the possessions of Spain in the New World. By that time gold and silver were being brought from Mexico, and the supply continually increased, so that the Spanish king had the prospect of a revenue beyond what any other king could obtain. In the reign of Henry VIII the great power of this Emperor Charles V was a danger to the rest of Europe.

(iv) *Italy*.—There remains one more land to be considered, Italy. She was still, as throughout the Middle Ages, a contrast to the rest of Europe. For her the Middle Ages had really closed in the fourteenth century, at latest. Her small city states had long been so highly civilised and so abounding in men of energy, genius and wealth, that her people had become almost modern. They had developed, not the political idea of union (like France and Spain), but the idea of the independence of the individual. This could be seen even by the numerous kinds of government in the land. Venice, Genoa and Florence were aristocratic republics, Naples was a kingdom, Milan a duchy (or despotism). Smaller states exhibited a sort of royalty which might be constitutional or despotic, the ruler using the title of marquis, duke or count. But the principal city of Italy, Rome, was the capital of an elected pope, who was still, in 1485, universally accepted as the spiritual Head of Christendom, but was principally concerned with local and political schemes, trying to extend his sovereignty over a block of Italian towns and districts, so that his activities were seldom regarded with any sentiment of reverence. Italy was influential in Europe chiefly through the genius of her sons. From France, England, Spain, or the German countries, men journeyed to Italy to learn. Italy was the home of scholarship and knowledge, art and poetry. Medicine, law, mechanics, mathematics, and most kinds of fine handicraft could be learned there, and even the arts of statecraft and warfare. Genoese navigators had inspired the Portuguese to track the coast of Africa (1440–86) and reach India (1498): the Genoese Columbus found the way to the West Indies for the Spaniards (1492) in his search for a new route to India; Italians, (Amerigo Vespucci one), with Portuguese first reached Brazil (1500), and yet another Genoese, John Cabot, guided the sailors of Bristol across the North Atlantic and discovered Newfoundland.

But the Italian states were not only intellectual, they were wealthy, and the wealth which they lavished upon the creation of beautiful things—buildings, statues, pictures, books, jewels, furniture, etc.—was eyed by foreigners with covetousness. To be sovereign over some of these commercial states would mean—what medieval kings had never had—a steady revenue. In addition,

to rule in Italy might give an all-powerful political advantage, if it should prove possible to control the pope. His power of absolving from promises and treaties, and his ability to find large sums of money out of Church revenue, made him a most desirable partner. A sovereign of Spain or France who could control the pope might be almost like a magician working a spell, exerting such an influence on the politics of other sovereigns as would nearly amount to a control of Europe.

So greed and ambition took Spanish and French kings, and Spanish, German and French armies, to fight out their rivalries in Italy and, in the course of the struggle, to destroy a great part of the prizes they coveted. When, therefore, in the reign of Henry VIII, Charles V, Emperor and king of Spain and Naples, did secure the mastery of Italy and the control of the pope (1527), the English sovereign suddenly discovered that his only choice lay between submission and the revolutionary action of totally rejecting this papal and foreign control (1529).

II

HENRY VII (1485-1509)

HENRY TUDOR, earl of Richmond, was only twenty-eight when he led the forlorn hope which achieved the victory of Bosworth and placed the crown of England on the head of a landless and almost penniless exile, who had been for fourteen years menaced by captivity and death. The long march from Milford Haven, via Shrewsbury and Watling Street, into the heart of Leicestershire, unchallenged but unwelcomed, seemed typical of those years of steadfast patience, while the skill which brought his small army undiminished over so discouraging a march promised success in the longer task of establishing his throne firmly among a people by no means enthusiastic. In the band of staunch supporters who had never fallen away in fourteen years of exile he had a nucleus of devoted ministers and fellow-workers to attack with him the work of reconstruction, which indeed proved so successful and permanent that it provoked little comment.

His title to the crown was as plainly one of conquest as that of William I, and his tenure of it would depend on his ability to keep it against Yorkist claimants, for there was no certainty, in 1485, that the Wars of the Roses were really over. Henry was the sole candidate whom the Lancastrians could find, and in strict legality no very strong one. His hereditary claim was derived from his mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, who was reckoned as the heir of John of Gaunt, after the destruction of the royal line of Lancaster.

She was a woman of a quiet but determined temper, and her great wealth had made her hand, after the early death of Henry's father, Edmund Tudor, a great prize. It had been given to a Stafford, son of the duke of Buckingham, whose family descended from the youngest son of Edward III and was reckoned as second only to royalty. After Stafford's death Edward IV bestowed the Lady Margaret on an adherent of his own, Lord Stanley, but her son was kept apart from her and entrusted to another Yorkist, Lord Herbert of Pembroke, as a sort of state prisoner. Herbert had the lad properly educated, and on the brief restoration of Henry VI (1470) mother and son were together at his court. Henry VI had shown affection for his half-brother Edmund Tudor and is said to have distinguished young Henry, laying his hand on the boy's head and

saying, "Lo, surely this is he to whom both we and our adversaries shall hereafter give place"—a saying treasured up and afterwards regarded as a prophecy of the saintly king. But when Tewkesbury left Henry the sole male representative of his house, his uncle Jasper Tudor carried him off to France, and for many years watched incessantly over his safety.

The Lady Margaret's position, after her marriage to Stanley, required much circumspection. She was forbidden to communicate with her son, and detection would have meant her imprisonment or execution. On the other hand, she was well placed for weaving the threads of the Lancastrian plot which, after Richard's seizure of the throne, began slowly to enmesh him.

At the famous council meeting which Richard opened by asking the bishop of Ely for strawberries and ended by ordering Lord Hastings to the block, a sudden blow had been aimed, by one of his men, at Lord Stanley, who only saved himself by dropping under the table. It was a sufficient warning: Stanley withdrew to the north, where, in Lancashire and Cheshire, his family were very powerful, and began to think that his wife's schemes offered him the best chance of safety and importance. The removal of Edward V and his brother and the death of Richard III's son left Richard and Henry of Richmond open rivals, and the latter had no choice but the crown or the axe.

The eldest daughter of Edward IV, the Lady Elizabeth, had been at one time entrusted for safety and education to Lord Stanley: the young duke of Buckingham was a nephew of the Lady Margaret's second husband. She was able, therefore, to win the confidence of both and to arrange the plan for Elizabeth's marriage with Henry of Richmond and for Buckingham's rising, which was meant to stir up Lancastrians on the one hand and Yorkists of the Woodville or Hastings connection on the other.

Buckingham's failure merely put off Henry's own attempt, which was finally made with the eyes of all England and half Europe upon him, Richard III being perfectly aware of his intentions. Henry's force may have numbered about 2000 men, many of them staunch Lancastrians, whose sole hope of return to their homes rested on this effort. Bray (Steward of the Lady Margaret), Guildford (a servant of Edward IV), Poynings (whose father had risen with Cade), the wise bishop Morton and the gallant earl of Oxford, always a Lancastrian, were among the leaders; a few zealous gentlemen, such as Brandon, joined the army on its march to Bosworth.

When the decisive fight was over, Sir Reginald Bray found Richard's battered crown caught in a bush; he prudently carried it to Sir William Stanley, who placed it on Henry's head amid the soldiers' shouts of "King Henry!" The new sovereign lost no time in exercising authority. He knighted eleven of his bravest friends, and ordered to instant execution Catesby and one or two others of Richard's most unpopular officials.

Then, by slow stages, the victorious army moved towards London, being now joyfully received in the towns along their way. Even Yorkist London prepared a splendid welcome. On September 3rd the Lord Mayor and the City Companies, dressed in scarlet and purple, met the new king with loyal addresses and a gift of 1000 marks. There were pageants and processions, a Latin ode to be sung, bells ringing and fountains running wine, when the public rejoicings were suddenly arrested by a visitation of pestilence, the "sweating sickness," which had already appeared in Yorkshire. Its ravages were sudden, so that two successive Lord Mayors and many aldermen died in one week, but happily it lasted only for a short while, and did not spread so widely as the Black Death.

The Londoners probably at first felt as if they had received a half-foreign king. Neither he nor his mother was well known to the City, nor were the Stanleys, whose "northern men" were looked upon askance; his best friends, Jasper Tudor and the earl of Oxford, had long been absent from England, hence ardent wishes were expressed for the new king's marriage with the Princess Elizabeth. Henry, however, put off the wedding for a few months, that it might be clearly understood that he reigned in his own sole right, nominally as the heir of Lancaster, really as conqueror in the field.

Round Elizabeth of York gathered such romantic feeling as the English could contrive to associate with the new régime. There were ballads on the rapid changes of her fortunes, telling how, born a king's daughter, persecuted by a wicked uncle, sheltered by her foster-father Stanley, "the Lady Bessy" was at last rescued by a royal lover and crowned queen of England; for whatever the facts might be, the popular ballads liked to make "Queen Bessy" the true heir to the crown.

In appearance Henry was slenderly built, with a long, pale face, golden hair and keen grey eyes. His most noticeable characteristics were his self-control, tenacity and kindliness. He loved order and disliked bloodshed. He never relinquished his objects, though he could wait quietly till an opportunity offered of grasping them. He was much averse from war, and succeeded in avoiding any serious fighting by being so well provided with artillery, ships and funds that foreign princes paid attention to his negotiations, as safer than risking war.

In the same way, at home, he put so few men to death that foreign ambassadors were amazed. The few who suffered (Catesby, and later, Sir William Stanley and the earl of Warwick) were great persons whose fate deterred others from beginning troubles. Henry preferred to take away opportunity from dangerous men rather than punish them, and to win over the hesitating by kindness. The principal Yorkist nobles in 1485 were the de la Poles and Howards, the former, Richard's nephews, having been declared by him his

heirs. The earl of Surrey, head of the Howards, was soon won over, and though his father had fallen at Bosworth, on Richard's side, he satisfied the king of his loyal acceptance of the new conditions. The de la Pole brothers were less honest, yet Henry never molested their father, but allowed him to retain his duchy, though, on the rebellion of the earl of Lincoln, a great part of the lands of the family was confiscated. When the queen's mother, the dowager queen Elizabeth Woodville, most foolishly and ungratefully compromised herself in the plot of Lambert Simnel, Henry sequestered some of her property but let her live in dignified privacy in a convent; the vast possessions of Edward IV's mother, Cecily Neville, duchess of York, he never touched, and always showed every consideration to that pious and prudent old lady.

To his own family and supporters Henry VII never failed in affection and gratitude. Between him and his mother a deep affection existed: "My own sweet and most dear king and all my worldly joy," she calls him in one of her letters. Her servants and friends were advanced to great posts and remained his most trusted ministers. It is noteworthy that few of them sought splendid rewards; most were satisfied with solid property and real power in the government. The days of rapacious plunder of the national resources seemed to be over; Oxford was the only magnate trusted, Bray, Guildford, Poynings, Blount, Edgecombe, Cheyney, Willoughby, were gentlemen of good birth and abilities, and they were among the actual rulers of England and the trusted counsellors of the king, who habitually employed them upon important business, rather than the nobility.

Nor were those who had fallen in the new king's cause forgotten by him. The family of the gallant Brandon were lavishly rewarded and the young heir educated along with Henry's own children. Similarly, the exquisite chapel (called King Henry VII's) at Westminster Abbey was built by the king to be the shrine of Henry VI, whose college at Cambridge (King's) he carefully finished, and he tried, though in vain, to obtain from the papacy the canonisation of that blameless and unhappy monarch.

The churchmen could be, and were, rewarded with bishoprics as soon as possible. Morton was made archbishop of Canterbury, and Urswick, of York; Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Fox, of Winchester. The first two devoted themselves mainly to efforts at improving their dioceses and clergy; Morton was a great promoter of learning, a drainer of the fens and a noble builder; Fox was practically the king's secretary; Fisher reorganised the university of Cambridge; all four were friends or servants of the Lady Margaret.

Jasper Tudor was appropriately created duke of Bedford, and on Lord Stanley was bestowed the royal earldom of Derby. Oxford was almost above reward; he was Great Admiral throughout the reign and was understood to be the man who had most influence

with the king.¹ In all such respects Henry's aim was to heal injuries and to pacify rivalries, and those whom he once found trustworthy he trusted and employed through life.

Henry was an unerring judge of men. This, and his sense of humour, enabled him to take quietly what others might have regarded as impertinences, and, when occasion served, to turn the tables neatly. He wasted no time upon a vain pursuit of popularity, content to let his subjects learn that their interest lay in the security of his throne—a conviction they acquired in a very few years. "He is adorned," wrote a foreign visitor, "with every good quality. He deserves a kingdom full of loyal subjects."

But parliament and London let Henry understand the coldness of their feelings. The Houses were obliged to regularise by statute his conquest (or usurpation), as they had in past times done for Henry IV, Richard, duke of York, Edward IV, and Richard III, nor could the Commons refuse a grant of the ordinary customs duties (tonnage and poundage); urged by the Chancellor they made the grant permanent, but they stated that this was "not to be taken as a precedent," and they presented a strong complaint against the extortions which the royal household, presumably under Richard III, had exacted as *purveyance*. More pointedly, the City, asked to lend £4000 to the new monarch, proffered only half that sum. Henry contrived to extract some advantage, however, from this unpromising beginning. He promptly made a concession about *purveyance*, agreeing to take a fixed yearly sum, raised by taxation, instead, and he then got rid of many costly abuses which he could never have checked under the old-fashioned plan, for the money now came straight into his own household coffers. This simple arrangement also separated the personal household expenses from the state or national expenditure, the two having been hitherto confused together.

He took a further step which did not much please the Houses: a bill of attainder was presented to them to condemn a score of prominent Yorkists, so as to confiscate their property to the Crown. The Yorkists themselves had habitually profited by such attainders, and there was much justice in stripping them of some of their ill-gotten wealth, but the death sentences were not carried out.

ADMINISTRATION

Henry was well aware that he must look beyond the perfunctory support of parliament, discredited by half a century of subservience to military lords, and secure the support of the nation by making the new state of things too satisfactory for discontent to flourish. Exile from England as he had been, he had acquired a knowledge of men, an acquaintance with foreign lands and an understanding of

¹ Bacon's story that Henry inflicted a great fine upon him for having a band of retainers is probably one of the illustrative inventions of the time.

many military, naval and commercial questions which well qualified him to obtain by political methods practical advantages and reforms. He began with the establishment of order at home, believing that what the nation really wanted was security and commerce.

In a public ceremony he displayed the royal household, taking an oath to observe the laws—ever repeated and ever disregarded for the last century—against *Livery* and *Maintenance*. He then called upon both Houses of Parliament to do the like, much to their distaste, for they preferred the fatal plan of passing well-sounding Acts and leaving them to carry themselves out. He next devised machinery for compelling the observance of the law by securing the punishment of offenders. The king sitting in his Council had always been the supreme authority in the realm. The Council at the king's command could exercise his powers, and had constantly done so throughout the past century. Henry selected a strong committee from the Council (usually consisting of the Chancellor and several other judges, the Treasurer or another great official, and a few bishops and peers), and directed them to call before them anyone who was seen to break this oath and to deal with him. Ample force was placed at their command to carry out their judgments. And so useful was this *Court of the Star Chamber* found to be that the parliament of 1487 made it permanent by a statute. The Star-chamber could neither be frightened nor bribed, and before long men of quite simple station became bold enough to invoke its judgment against the local tyranny of powerful men. The punishments were invariably heavy fines, which served the double purpose of weakening the power of the transgressor for the future and helping to fill the royal treasury.

But the great were by no means the only disturbers of the peace. Town and country teemed with reckless men who were enabled to go on committing robberies and other crimes by the extraordinary system of *sanctuary*. No land had so large a number of havens for criminals as England. Every church was a sanctuary for forty days, and the refugee usually then escaped to another and began a fresh forty days. Moreover, several great churches, such as Westminster Abbey or Beverley, were permanent sanctuaries. The resort of sanctuarymen to Beverley was so great that they had regular routes and a record was kept of them when they crossed the Trent at Nottingham. An Italian visitor to England describes with amazement how "A villain who for some great excess that he has committed has been obliged to take refuge in one of these sacred places, often goes out of it to brawl in the public streets and then, returning to it, escapes with impunity for every fresh offence he may have been guilty of. This is no detriment to the purses of the priests nor to the other perpetual sanctuaries." If a sanctuaryman could not get away safely, being perhaps watched too well by the relatives of his victim, or by the sheriff's constable, he could announce that he would "abjure the realm," or go into

outlawry. He then would be officially escorted to the coast, "where, if he finds a passage, he may go with a 'God speed you'! But if he should not find one he walks into the sea up to his neck and three times calls for a passage," and he might live unharmed in the port till some ship would take him on board for whatever coast he desired. The Italian was amused to hear "the women and children lament over the misfortune of these exiles, asking 'how they can live so destitute out of England,' adding 'that they had better have died than go out of the world': as if England were the whole world!"

In fact the sanctuary and outlawry system, originally devised by pious Saxon kings and bishops to save men from sudden bloodshed and feuds, had persisted in this island for hundreds of years after it had become merely an unjust favour to criminals.

Another ecclesiastical privilege, that of *Benefit of Clergy*, was stretched to save at least the lives of many criminals who were caught. Anciently any person "in orders," even in the lowest degrees, such as doorkeeper, sexton, etc., had the right of being judged in the lenient Church courts, and those who, being really secular persons, had qualified technically as "clergy," used to prove their "clergy" by showing that they could read in the Latin service book or the Bible. Hence it was assumed that to read proved a man's claim to *benefit of clergy*, and as reading was a quite common accomplishment in the fifteenth century, many a criminal got off with a very lenient punishment. On the wild north Border it was usual for habitual raiders and thieves to learn a verse by heart and, if caught by the Warden of the Marches, claim the privilege by looking into a book and reciting their "neck-verse."

Neither Crown nor parliament dared (as yet) to interfere with these clerical privileges, beyond empowering bishops to punish more severely and ordering that criminals should not be allowed *benefit of clergy* unless they could prove that they were really in holy orders (1485, 1488). A few years later, however (1493), Henry induced the pope to limit their privileges and even to declare that sanctuary should not be allowed at all to persons suspected of high treason (1504). Necessary as these reforms were, they were denounced in many a sermon as sacrilege.

Henry was strong enough to put down the first spasmodic risings of the Yorkists (1486-7) by his own resources, and by the time that they had knit together the really strong sedition of Perkin Warbeck, the country had become unwilling to see the government disturbed. The Yorkist leaders were, at home, Lord Lovel, a devoted adherent of Richard III, who thirsted for vengeance, the Staffords of Southwick, the young de la Poles, earls of Lincoln and Suffolk; abroad, Margaret of York, dowager duchess of Burgundy and sister of Edward IV and Richard III. In 1486, an attempt was made to seize the king when he reached York on his first progress, but Henry had not gone thither without a strong bodyguard, and so soon as the stroke

was seen to be foiled, Lovel, the leader, fled, leaving his men at the royal mercy, which was generously shown. But next year a fresh plot was concerted by the de la Poles, always called the rising of Lambert Simnel.

A Yorkist priest of Oxford had trained a handsome lad of the town, a baker's son, to behave like a youth of rank, and with the help of the earl of Lincoln took him to Ireland, always the lair of Yorkist plotters against an English monarch. There he was introduced as Clarence's son, the boy earl of Warwick, whom Henry was keeping prisoner in the Tower, the plotters counting on the king's known justice for the safety of the real earl. The Anglo-Irish lords, led by the powerful earl of Kildare, accepted the mock earl and crowned him at Dublin with a coronet taken from the head of an image in the cathedral. In his name they could then refuse obedience to the English Crown. The insurgents next made their attack on England, where Henry was ready for them, but they made the mistake of landing in Lancashire, the Stanley county. They had been supplied by the Duchess Margaret with a company of stout German soldiers under a captain named Swart, and Kildare brought over a body of Irishmen. Marching through Yorkshire the invaders received little welcome; men preferred to wait for the result, and perhaps were offended by the foreign troops. By the route they took they had to cross the Trent near Newark, and Henry had a strong army waiting in Lincolnshire. He had intimated to the squires of the eastern counties that if they only arrived after the battle was over their good intentions would not be recognised. The insurgents crossed the river and at once had to fight at Stoke. Kildare and the Irish fled; the Germans and the earl of Lincoln fought to the end, and fell. Lovel again showed his skill in disappearing—this time for ever—and Simnel was, of course, abandoned. The king pardoned the unlucky dupe and sent him to be a scullion boy in the royal kitchen. Not his like, but the foreign intriguers, were the foes whom Henry really dreaded.

PERKIN WARBECK

The most striking episode of the reign was the imposture of Perkin Warbeck, engineered by the dowager duchess of Burgundy with great skill and some success. Henry VII was anxious to secure a royal bride for his little son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, as the surest way of securing his recognition by the other sovereigns of Europe. He hoped to wed him to a child princess of Spain, Catherine, younger daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Spanish sovereigns were ready to entertain the project, if they could only feel certain that Henry was secure upon his throne. But Maximilian of Austria and Flanders, full of great schemes of self-aggrandisement, was unwilling to see an alliance between England and Spain, as was also the king of France, Charles VIII, and the duchess Margaret

very cleverly played upon the suspicions of both to provoke a disturbance which should keep Henry too busy at home to be powerful on the Continent. The king of Scots, James IV, saw in a Yorkist claimant an excellent excuse for raiding England, and joined the informal alliance.

Perkin, like Lambert, was launched in Ireland, at Cork, where he was paraded about, richly dressed, while mysterious hints were whispered to credulous ears. It was decided for him, rather against his will, that he must be the younger of the two little princes of the Tower. The assassins, it was said, had duly murdered Edward V, but could not find it in their hearts to slay the little Richard; this Richard, then, was clearly the rightful king. Men even professed to recognise his features.

From Ireland Warbeck was invited to France, but by the time he arrived Charles VIII and Henry VII had made up their temporary quarrel by the Treaty of Étapes, and Charles had no further use for a Yorkist. Warbeck found shelter in Flanders, where Margaret exerted herself to prepare an English rising, and the king of Spain refused to risk his daughter in England until this danger was put an end to. It was only in England that plots were dangerous, and Henry had an excellent intelligence service; he knew the names of the chief intriguers, and in 1495 London was amazed by learning that they had been suddenly arrested, chief among them being the powerful Sir William Stanley.

Stanley had regarded himself as Henry's king-maker, and, like Warwick before him, and the Percies earlier still, he thought himself insufficiently rewarded. He had stored money and arms in the castle of Holt on the Welsh borders (a spoil from the Howards), but whether he meant to dethrone Henry or frighten him into more lavish gifts was never explained. Stanley was executed and others who had begun to dabble in treason took warning. When "King Richard" attempted to seize Sandwich, the county levies manned the shore and promptly slaughtered the first bands who landed, whereupon Warbeck, who had waited on board ship, prudently sailed away: "No Plantagenet," decided Ferdinand of Spain.

It was now Scotland's turn. James IV acted up to his professions and gave the claimant a noble lady, his own relative, to wife. Then he led a plundering expedition across the frontier, and, learning of a rebellion against Henry in Cornwall, despatched Warbeck thither by sea, while he himself raided the Bishopric of Durham but could not take a single castle.

At the first news of the Scottish onset, Henry had sent the earl of Surrey to Yorkshire, and the population, which ten years earlier had rebelled against taxation and slain the earl of Northumberland, was now zealous to fill the ranks of Surrey's army against its "old enemy" Scotland. At the same time a fleet was on its way to support Surrey by a coastal attack. James had no knowledge of fighting other than personal combat, and he offered to fight a

duel with Surrey for the possession of Berwick. Surrey in courteous terms declined this absurd offer, and the king retreated hastily, pursued by the English army. Surrey had Henry's artillery train with him and gave an object lesson of its power by taking after one day's bombardment the strong Scottish hold of Ayrton Castle. This kind of war was not popular with the Scottish lords, and James himself became aware that he was fighting against his own interest. He was desirous of making an alliance with the powerful king of Spain, and Ferdinand's ambassador easily persuaded him to accept Henry's terms. A truce was soon negotiated, which quickly was turned into a peace for the lifetime of the two sovereigns. It was cemented by the betrothal of James IV to Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, the marriage being celebrated as soon as the bride was old enough, in 1502.

In the meantime the curious rising of the Cornishmen had occurred. At the first news of Scottish war, parliament had voted a subsidy, and on its collection the usual sequel of armed resistance followed. The Cornishmen, professing themselves to be but poor miners and tillers, vowed they would not be "grounded to powder" by taxes to defend northern counties, and gathered in a large army. Resolving to go to London and face the king, they set out, marching on foot and armed only with bows and bills, but, as in the case of Simnel, earlier, they met with no hindrance. Taunton and Wells showed some sympathy, Bristol barred them out, but Salisbury and Winchester let them through, and so they reached Kent, and encamped on the classic ground of Blackheath, gazing at London across the broad Thames and expecting the free commons of Kent to arise and help them. Prosperous Kent, however, had no leanings towards revolt, and the king had already collected a larger army than any rebellious county could raise. He skilfully took the Cornish host in rear, flank and front at once. Two thousand are said to have fallen, fighting, before the remainder would surrender. When they did so, the king granted pardon to the whole body, excepting only the three ringleaders—a nobleman, a lawyer, and a blacksmith—who were at once executed.

Warbeck had missed this opportunity by having turned aside to Ireland, to gain fresh courage from the enthusiasm of Cork or the earl of Kildare. So, when he screwed up courage to proceed to Cornwall, his ship was vigorously chased by the sailors of Waterford, who had no quarrel with the English king, but a lively one with Kildare, and sent to warn the king of Perkin's movements.

The news of the rebels' failure on Blackheath had reached Cornwall before the pretender appeared. The earl of Devon was now raising his shire for the Crown, troops from London were on the way and the king in person following them. Exeter, therefore, closed her gates, and though several thousand men joined "King Richard," they vainly hurled stones at the fortifications or tried to set the gates on fire. They were determined men, and marched on Taunton,

to face the royal troops, but Warbeck deserted them by night, and fled into Hampshire to take sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey. There he found so little encouragement that he felt it safer to surrender; he made a full confession and Henry sent him to prison. Perkin had not the sense to recognise that his game was up. He tried, next year, to escape, but was only put in the stocks for the public contempt to be shown, and imprisoned more strictly in the Tower. In the following year a third impostor appeared, pretending to be the young earl of Warwick again, and finally Warbeck managed (as it seems) to implicate the unhappy earl himself in some plan of escape. Both were found out, and Henry's patience gave way. Ferdinand of Spain was still urging on him to make a sure end of Yorkist claimants, and refusing to send his daughter to a land of such incessant plots. Both Warbeck and the unfortunate Warwick, the true victim of the Yorkist plots, were then executed (November 1497), and thenceforth the peace of England was unbroken.

Henry VII certainly established a new type of royalty, as different from the easy popularity of Edward IV as from the tame privacy of Henry VI. He was extremely accessible to his people, and his progresses through the country made him known, for wherever there was discontent the king usually appeared. Even the humble might approach him, and he often gave personal attention to their petitions. But he was always regal. He preferred to dress, and to see those about him dressed, in rich and jewelled attire. He would attend merry-makings, or marriages, with some magnificence. He entertained the nobles and the royal family with feasts and other gaieties, and the splendid festivities in honour of Philip the Fair in 1506 delighted the Flemish and Spanish courtiers. Henry himself loved the pleasures of hunting and dicing as well as those of music and art. In the rapid life of the renaissance in England, as in Italy, men lived vigorously and found zest in turning suddenly from one pursuit to another. Thus Sir Reginald Bray is credibly asserted to have been the designer of the king's ships and of the king's beautiful chapels at Windsor and Westminster.

Though Henry VII spent generously, he had so great a revenue that he stored also a great treasure of money. Such a treasure was a prime necessity for a strong king, and the lack of it had ruined the Lancastrians. Bishop Fox is believed to have been the first of Henry's ministers who extorted over-great fines from transgressors, and devised the two-pronged argument to constrain men to subscribe to "loans" and "benevolences," which is most unfairly called *Morton's "Fork"*—that, if they lived in good style, their wealth was obvious, if quietly, they must have laid by money.

During the last few years of Henry's life, when his eldest son, his queen and Archbishop Morton were dead, his anxiety to fill the Treasury became unduly marked, while the slackening of his power of control left too much freedom to a pair of ministers who abused their responsibility. Sir Edmund Dudley and ex-Speaker Empson

were rapacious and dishonest, and their oppressive exactions (made by virtue of powers unwisely bestowed by Act of Parliament) brought ill fame on the old king—for at fifty Henry was an old man—but to represent avarice as his most striking characteristic is absurd. He had never been possessed of the charm which makes for popularity, and his extraordinary achievement in restoring tranquillity and leading the nation upon the lines of progress was hardly to be understood generally in his own time.

III

TOWN AND COUNTRY (1485-1529)

(A) THE LANDLESS POOR

THE better administration of justice provided by Henry VII went some way towards pacifying the country, but its discontent had not been wholly due to violence. For many years causes had been at work which were changing the old system of agriculture in many counties, in the direction of making the well-to-do richer, and the poor poorer. These changes are sometimes called an agrarian, or agricultural, revolution; but the changes really came about slowly. For a long time, perhaps from the Black Death, the profits gained from selling wool, whether to Flanders or to English cloth-makers, had been greater, and more easily turned into coin, than the profits of ordinary tillage. Men who held several manors, or who had money to buy land, often turned a great part of their property into sheep pasture. The development of our native cloth industry during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had, of course, stimulated the movement. In the eastern and south-western counties especially many small towns and ports were flourishing on the cloth trade, while in the country districts which fed them with wool peasants were selling their holdings, or being turned out of them, and then found themselves left with nothing to live upon. This process had been going on during the fifteenth century and had become noticeable before its close. Hence the class of wandering vagabonds, a class very familiar everywhere throughout the Middle Ages, had been much increased. In time of war some might become camp followers, and at all times the religious houses fed numbers, but the monks had themselves, in the fifteenth century, become impoverished.

The monasteries had been heavily taxed, they had sometimes built extravagantly, they were falling behind the age in their agricultural methods, and they were hampered by the system of "corrodies": *i.e.* they had to maintain, as non-paying guests, younger sons, or elderly men and women, of those gentle families who had formerly been the patrons of the convent. The monks, therefore, could not give sufficient alms to satisfy the increasing crowds of poor. Many of the poor, also, had become accustomed to this easy mode of begging a living, and preferred it to work, and the great increase of travelling in the fifteenth century, and

the relaxation of ancient restrictions, made it easy for them to wander from place to place.

Parliament was anxious enough to remedy this state of things, but its efforts had never been very successful. In 1489, 1495 and 1504 it legislated in a way that shows at least that it had learned the uselessness of over-severe laws, and the necessity of distinguishing between different kinds of wanderers. First came an Act ordering landowners to see that the homes of the tillers of the soil ("houses of husbandry") were kept in repair, and that the traditional holding of thirty acres with each, if it had been within three years attached to the house, was not diminished. Many a similar Act had been passed before, and had remained a dead letter, but a penalty was now attached; if a landlord disregarded this Act his overlord, or the Crown, might take half of the "profiteering" rent he had made. To deal with the actual vagabonds, the Act of 1495 first repealed a ferocious Act of the time of Richard II (which had ordered vagabonds to be imprisoned for life and was consequently a dead letter), and next provided (1) that infirm beggars should go to live in their native Hundred, where it was supposed local charity would aid them; (2) that men lawfully travelling, such as soldiers, sailors, chapmen, or clerks of the universities, must carry a kind of passport from their captain, mayor, or vice-chancellor, that they might not be molested; (3) that *vagabonds* (*i. e.* strong and idle fellows, persons suspected of thieving or other crimes, wandering "hermits," and all able-bodied beggars who would not work) should be set in the stocks, with bread and water, for a few days and then—a lame conclusion—expelled from the place. It was hoped that this unpleasant treatment would drive them to find work. The stocks had been a favourite medieval punishment; it was now no longer to be the privilege of the lord of the manor, but the duty of the parish, to provide them, and here and there an old specimen may still be seen near a village church. Finally, as town and village constables were not always anxious to undertake the arduous task of dealing with vagabonds, a fine was imposed on any official shirking his duty, to be paid to the superior who found him out; and as drink was certainly a chief cause of idleness and poverty, it was ordered that two Justices of the Peace might close any alehouse if they thought well. Unfortunately parliament, whose members were drawn solely from the wealthier classes, tried at the same time to drive men who were not vagabonds to more assiduous labour by forbidding apprentices and hired workmen in town or country to play at games likely to lead to betting, except at Christmas. The games named are bowls, tennis, *closshé* (a kind of croquet), cards, dice and tables (backgammon). They might practise archery, since that was useful, but play was for their masters only.

It was extremely unfortunate that the earliest practical efforts towards coping with the problem of a floating poor population

should thus have been combined with selfish legislation, and should have initiated the enormous mistake, which for two centuries longer was persisted in, of assuming that working men would be better without pleasure. The manufacturing and middle classes who employed "the poor" began henceforward to treat them as a class which ought to be satisfied to labour and to remain always in the poverty-stricken condition in which they had been born, so that gradually a bitter feeling began to arise. This selfish and contemptuous way of looking upon the workmen was peculiarly the attitude of mind of well-to-do townsmen, but the government accepted the idea that the cure for poverty was employment. "To set the poor on work" became a favourite phrase of the sixteenth century: whether their work would obtain a fair share of the profits was seldom asked; it would, at least, provide them with a living. In many localities such schemes were tried, with a view to the development of manufactures, nor were they unpopular in the sixteenth century, since they held out hopes of local prosperity and enriched employers. They had a share in encouraging the growth of towns, and developed some new industries.

(B) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE

During the early part of the Tudor age the natural growth of population was counteracted by a succession of epidemics, worse than those of the fifteenth century though less terrible than the Black Death. Medical science had as yet no remedy, except flight from infection. People who were obliged, like Cardinal Wolsey, to be constantly in law-courts or among crowds, used to take an orange or spices to smell at, as a precaution. Sometimes herbs were burnt to purify the air. The worst years were 1485, 1487 and 1501-4, but the recurrence of both the plague and the new "sweating sickness" throughout the century shows that England was more unhealthy than other countries.

The famous Erasmus,¹ who praised the comfort and cleanliness of English inns compared with those of either France or Germany (a standard maintained till the nineteenth century), considered the badness of private houses responsible for the sickness. Nothing, he declared, could cure the unhealthiness of London but being burnt down and rebuilt—a prophecy verified after 1666. "They never think whether their doors and windows face north, south, east, or west, and the rooms are so constructed that, contrary to Galen's rule, no through draught can be sent through them. Then they have a large part of the wall fitted with sheets of glass which admit the light but keep out the air. . . . Then, the floors are generally strewed with clay, and that covered with rushes which are now and then renewed, but not so as to disturb the foundation, which sometimes remains for twenty years nursing a collection of spilt

¹ See Chapter VI.

beer and fishes' bones and other filth that I need not mention. . . . Besides, England is not only surrounded on all sides by the sea, but many parts of it are very marshy and it is intersected with salt rivers [meaning near Cambridge, Lincoln, Thanet, Rochester, etc.], to say nothing of the salt fish of which the common people are wonderfully fond."

Erasmus expressed his opinion to no less a personage than Cardinal Wolsey's physician, and suggested, as means of improvement, that the use of rushes should be abolished, bedrooms built so as to be open to the sky on at least two sides, and glass windows made to open wide. "Then there might be officers who should see that the streets were kept clean from filth and the suburbs also." Yet even at the close of the century Dr. Caius, who built Gonville College in Cambridge, was not understood when he ordered that the south side of the quadrangle should be left open, in order to let the sun in. It was enclosed with a high wall instead. When Sir Thomas More took up his abode in London, he expressed his distaste for the narrow streets, the houses nearly meeting overhead and shutting out sun and air.

That these insanitary conditions were not peculiar to London is evident from the records of other towns, in many of which there was no pure water supply. In some places the citizens' household supply of water came from a stream into which people threw their dirty water, and which they allowed to be fouled by animals or manufacturing processes such as soaking hides. Here and there public-spirited individuals would build and bequeath a conduit or a well-head, but even these fell out of order because nobody looked after them. The governing bodies of medieval towns, though they had plenty of powers, cared nothing about sanitary measures; for centuries they held to their accustomed ways, repeatedly forbidding offences which people could not avoid committing, fining the offenders, appointing officers to watch and to fine, spending money upon punishments, but never providing places where men might shoot rubbish or wash utensils. The lack of a water-supply was not due to ignorance. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the monks and friars had set excellent examples in water-supply and drainage, and in some places the friars' water-works served the community also. One great monastery allowed the women of the town to fill their jugs at the monks' taps, and in several towns the friars' conduits formed the only safe supply.

It was, then, no wonder that the English habitually drank ale, cider, or wine. Sir Thomas More's father (a long-lived and eminent lawyer) was a water-drinker, and his son followed his example, but this habit of theirs struck visitors as amazing. It was the necessity for continual supplies of ale which led to the enactment of so many regulations about taverns. Ale did not keep long, consequently a host of persons, usually women, were regularly employed in brewing. Early in the sixteenth century the use of hops was introduced from

Flanders. The hopped beer would keep, and it was then brewed clearer and stronger. But mild ale or "small beer" continued to be the usual drink for another century and a half, though *beverages*, as they were called, that is, liquors made from herbs or fruit, were often concocted by the women-folk for special occasions.

Some attempts at sanitary regulation were made in the early part of the century, for example, by London, Gloucester, and Bristol, but very little was carried out, and the charge of "fouling the common water supply" continued to be a convenient one to bring against anybody whose discomfiture was desired, much like the demand often made in politics that a minister should produce his accounts: nobody could possibly clear himself, in either case.

(C) THE TOWNS

One characteristic of English townsfolk is their outspoken feeling against foreigners, another is the boldness which led more than once to open riots. The former sprang from the eternal fear that there might not be work and wages enough for everyone. German importers, Italian financiers and Flemish artisans were equally hated. Henry VIII himself, who liked luxuries, employed many foreign servants, but he knew how to use the general sentiment when he declared "no foreign priest shall tax or toll in my dominions." The unpopularity of Wolsey was at least partly due to his foreign dignity of cardinal.

As for the workmen, they resented the alien craftsmen. The famous riot known as Evil May-Day (1517) sprang largely from a disagreement between the Mayor of London and Cardinal Wolsey, and their two parties in the City Council, but the old grudge against the privileged foreigners found in that quarrel an opportunity of action. The apprentices seem to have spread a rumour that "the City would rise and slay all the aliens." The citizens were ordered to keep their apprentices indoors all the holiday—an order obviously impossible to obey. Some lads playing at bucklers in Cheap were bidden by an alderman to stop, and on their crying out and asking why, he tried to send one to gaol (in the *Counter*). The cry of "Prentices and Clubs!" produced a crowd at once which rushed to the foreigners' houses and mobbed all the aliens to be found.

The Government then took prompt and severe measures, a number of lads were convicted and condemned, and a few of these were ordered to be hanged. Only one was actually executed, the rest were pardoned, after a noble scene of intercession—the three queens—the wife and sisters of Henry VIII—Catherine, Margaret of Scotland and Mary of France, kneeling before the king in tears. As the cardinal practically was the government and the law at this time, his assertion that he had procured the pardon won him no thanks.

IV

ENGLAND AND EUROPE

(I) THE NEW NAVAL, COMMERCIAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

(A) MILITARY AND NAVAL SYSTEM (1485-1529)

HENRY VII was the first of our sovereigns who found English affairs at home complicated by interference from continental sovereigns. This was due, partly to Yorkist plots, partly to intricate questions of commerce and competition, and partly to the ambitions of the sovereigns of Spain, France and Austria, and of the pope. These rivals were always hoping to arrange some alliance which might induce an ally to expend men and money on their behalf and for their benefit. It was a kind of cleverness much practised and admired in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ferdinand of Spain being the most skilful player in the game.

Henry VII dealt with foreign questions solely for English purposes; but he soon proved himself well able to deal with Ferdinand and Ferdinand's habitual tool, the Emperor Maximilian, on at least equal terms. Henry's aims were clear. (1) He had to secure himself and his House upon the throne; he therefore avoided war, which might afford opportunity to Yorkist claimants. Bloodshed was always abhorrent to him and he coveted no foreign conquests. (2) But he was watchful to prevent any foreign power, whether military or commercial, from holding England or the English sovereign at its mercy. He meant England to be mistress of her own coasts and sufficiently independent to be able to trade with any and every nation at her own choice.

From the beginning his independence was remarkable. Poor as he was when he ascended the throne, niggardly as parliament and the London merchants showed themselves, he was the first king since Henry II who did not hamper himself by financial obligations to foreign capitalists. He was quick, also, to establish a sufficient military and naval force under his own control to ensure himself from sudden attacks. This he accomplished by the method, new in England, of keeping always ready the nucleus of an armed force, both on sea and land. (a) He maintained a bodyguard, though only a small one, every member of which was a picked man who could be sent to command on special occasions. It was unnecessary to keep a larger body because the king could obtain ordinary fighting

men on very short notice from the gentry or nobility. (b) He kept a considerable store of warlike material of the newest type with which to arm the troops. His train of cannon could be sent to any point of danger, and he had skilled gunners in London and stores of ammunition ready in royal depots. The making of gunpowder was a royal monopoly and it was regularly manufactured, even in time of peace, the king making a profit by selling it to his foreign friends. At first, Henry had purchased artillery abroad, but he soon created factories of his own, and found that the ironmasters of Sussex and in the royal forest of Dean, and the brassfounders of London and other places, could make as good cannon as any in France or Italy. As subjects were not allowed to possess artillery, or buy gunpowder, without special royal licence, the Crown armament was far too strong for any rebel, and stronger than anything the Scottish king could raise. (c) His naval preparations were, however, the most important. The Yorkist kings had possessed three or four royal ships, and to these Henry added. At first he had to bring artificers and materials from France and Italy, especially from Genoa, but in a few years his ships, like his artillery, were being built and fitted by Englishmen in new royal docks and building-yards, on the Thames and at Portsmouth. He had not a large number of ships, but, when he required a fleet, chartered merchant vessels, as his predecessors had done, for which, however, he paid well. There was hardly any difference as yet between merchantmen and ships of war. To ensure a good supply of shipping, Henry offered bounties to merchants and shippers who would build vessels large and good enough for the royal purposes, and his Navigation Acts gave a great stimulus to shipbuilding. The best royal ship, armed with over 200 serpentines (or small cannon), was probably a match for anything a foreign fleet could show, and his habitual strength at sea guaranteed the safety of the kingdom and impressed foreign monarchs. He placed the whole conduct of naval affairs—building, fitting out, paying wages and expenses, and commanding when at sea—in the hands of Sir Reginald Bray and other men of middle rank immediately responsible to himself, and he never grudged outlay. Thus he began a permanent system and had a large number of practical men always in the royal naval service. It is noteworthy that his usual home, and a favourite residence of his son and grand-daughter, was at Greenwich, where the palace overlooked the broad waters of the Thames and all its shipping: the choice shows that foreign raids up the estuary had become things of the past.

It was Henry VII's steady development of English shipping which made it possible for Henry VIII to create a really powerful royal navy, and it was under the Tudors that England began to have a naval policy. Our relations with other countries, peaceful or warlike, were then and thenceforward regularly conducted by maritime activity in the first place. The fleet came to be our

principal weapon, just as armies of archers had been in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

This begins a new and much-needed improvement in the national system of defence and politics, for if we compare the Tudor system with that of earlier days, we find that up to the sixteenth century there had seldom been any true royal fleet. Very few kings had understood how to defend this island on the ocean, most had only used ships as a means of conveying soldiers. From Alfred to Edgar a fleet had been maintained against the Danes, but Ethelred II neglected it, and the Danes conquered England. Cnut kept up a fleet which enabled him to rule a maritime empire, but Edward the Confessor abolished it, with the result that William of Normandy conquered England. Under the early Plantagenets the Channel was an Anglo-Gascon lake for the merchant ships of both parts of their dominions, but after Edward I France or Spain usually dominated it. Edward III exhausted the shipping and crews of the Cinque Ports by his incessant requisitions for royal and national purposes, so that after 1365 our lack of ships enabled the French to wage the war principally on our coasts. Henry V maintained a powerful fleet for a few years, but after his death the Regency, like Edward the Confessor, found it too expensive to keep up, and for thirty years the French raided our harbours at will from the Wash to Dorset; Richard III could not prevent Henry from reaching Milford Haven. The Tudor fleet, however, secured England from foreign attacks, and the futile attempts of Perkin Warbeck offered the only threat of invasion till the gigantic effort of the Spanish Armada was made, and foiled.

One cause of this maritime development lay in the discovery of the great size of the world. Hitherto the Mediterranean had been the focus of civilisation and commerce, but when the Portuguese found the sea route to India and Brazil the ocean became the thoroughfare of maritime peoples, and Portugal, the Netherlands, France and England, in the course of the sixteenth century, steadily supplanted Italy in the commercial markets of Europe.

By the time of Henry VIII ships of war began to differ from ships of commerce, but one type of war vessel much favoured by other nations was almost ignored by the English. The *galley*, or swift rowing craft, was at that time the swiftest vessel of war, and could attack and ram larger ships. But galleys were rowed by slaves or convicts, and it was impossible to get free Englishmen to bear the misery of such terrible labour. Henry VIII tried experiments in craft propelled by both sails and oars, which he used, much as now we use destroyers, to sail (or row) rapidly on the wing of the battleships so as to fend off the attacks of galleys. But it was soon seen that the waves of the northern seas were more than a match for galleys, unless inside some sheltered harbour, like Brest. In any case the rapid development of the art of sailing soon made row-boats obsolete. In the Middle Ages ships had been

hardly able to tack, but before the end of the fifteenth century French and English sailors discovered how to shift different sails, and the voyages made by mariners of both nations in the Atlantic caused a rapid advance in seamanship. The French marine was in the lead, and used to fish off Newfoundland for cod long before the English gave up their vain search for gold-mines in North America.

(B) FOREIGN AND COMMERCIAL POLICY (1485-1509)

When Henry VII came to the throne and had to settle afresh the relations of England with other countries, it looked as if he must choose between France and Spain, and Spain at that time implied Flanders also. The Flanders trade was a necessity to us, but our commerce with Gascony (whence came wine and woad) was very nearly as important. Henry saw clearly that the old causes of war between England and France had long since died; moreover, he owed a debt of gratitude to Louis XI and his daughter Anne, Regent since 1483 for young Charles VIII, as well as to the court of Brittany. When, then, France and Brittany fought each other, which should the English king support? The general feeling was, of course, for war with France and for the preservation of Breton independence. The Breton sailors were as a rule friendly, and from their bays came our best salt. Ferdinand, too, busy in knitting together a league against Charles VIII, played on Henry's desire for the marriage of Princess Catherine with Prince Arthur, and desired his active help in attacking the French king.

Henry skilfully turned the crisis to use. First he obtained a considerable grant of money from parliament, although the attempt to collect it in Yorkshire produced a rising there (1488). Then he connived at the expedition of a band of volunteers under Woodville to help Brittany—a good clearance of restless Yorkists and a demonstration which he could easily disavow to the king of France. Charles VIII hereupon invited Perkin Warbeck to Paris, and Henry on that score procured more money, by gifts and loans which were still called benevolences, and then at length undertook two assaults on the enemy, one genuine and one perfunctory (1492). The former was a vigorous naval attack on Sluys, which had become again, as often in older days, a haven of pirates, so bold that they even appeared in the Bristol Channel. Maximilian undertook to attack Sluys on land, but it was the English fleet which secured the victory, an extremely desirable event for English shipping.

The second expedition was a magnificent invasion of France where the king in person superintended the siege of the impregnable fortress of Boulogne. Charles VIII sufficiently understood Henry to propose negotiations, and, somewhat to the relief of the English commanders, who had discovered the difficult nature of the task

set them, Henry accepted the French overtures, and a truce, which soon became a settled peace, was agreed upon at Étapes (1492). Charles undertook to pay Henry an annual pension, which the English might call a tribute if they liked, and for this Henry withdrew from France, and left Charles VIII at liberty to go and fight Ferdinand in Italy.

It was this treaty which led Maximilian to patronise Perkin Warbeck and send him to make that attempt on Kent, in 1495, which only proved to Europe how firmly Henry was seated upon his throne. Henry, in reply, deprived Flanders of wool by moving the Bruges staple¹ to Calais and expelled Flemish merchants from England. In a brief time Ferdinand relinquished Perkin, as a useless tool, and was satisfied by Henry's adherence to the alliance made by himself, Venice and the pope against Charles, on almost nominal terms: the English king was not to furnish either money or men unless he liked. Just at the same time the young duke of Burgundy, Philip (Maximilian's son), who had now come into possession of Flanders, was compelled by the rage of the Flemings to give up his support of Perkin, and he concluded a great treaty of friendship and commerce between Flanders and England, always known by the name the Flemings gave it, of *Intercursus Magnus* (1496). Practically it meant freedom of trade between the two countries: the merchants or fishermen of either land might come and go, sell or buy freely, use each other's harbours, and fish in each other's waters, without toll or permits. The success of Henry's diplomacy was evident when the Spanish sovereigns, after the execution of Warwick and Perkin, sealed their alliance by at last sending the Princess Catherine to England. They gave with her a rich wedding portion in money and jewels, a great commendation in Henry's eyes, and she was married to the boy Prince of Wales, Arthur, in 1501.

THE HANSE LEAGUE.—In another direction a possible choice lay before Henry, a choice between German and Italian cities, of which he availed himself to weaken gradually the tight hold which the North German ports, the famous *Hanse League*, had long ago secured upon English trade. Throughout the fifteenth century much discontent had been expressed by our own merchants and seamen at the unequal relations which prevailed. The Hanse ports had built up a monopoly of the Baltic trade and shut out English ships from Dantzic (then a Polish port but controlled by the Hanse) and from the Baltic islands. They tried to exclude them also from Denmark and Scandinavia. Then the Hanse merchants could intercept the supplies of hemp and tar which were necessary to our shipping, and would only allow to England such quantities and qualities as they chose and at their own prices. Their aim was, as usual, to prevent other nations from developing

¹ i. e., the official market for sale of English wool.

shipping of their own, for a great part of the Hanse trade was a *carrying* trade, and consisted in conveying goods of other countries to and fro. There were but two merchant companies in England able to undertake foreign commerce on a large scale, the *Merchants of the Staple*, who had been engaged, since the thirteenth century, in the export of wool, and who managed that traffic and its customs business for the government, and the *Merchant Adventurers*, who managed the export of English cloth and had gradually extended their operations from Flanders and Holland, their original customers, to the seaports of Denmark and Norway and even Iceland. There were other, stronger rivals to the Hanse League in the great Italian ports—the Republic of Venice, the State of Florence and the Republic of Genoa—but even they were unable to cope on equal terms with the great German League, which possessed fleets and funds equal or superior to those of any sovereign, and sometimes hired pirates to destroy the ships of other countries. English kings had often been under financial obligations to the Hanse League, which they had liquidated by giving to the League such privileges as made German merchants more favoured than English, even in London itself. One of Henry's first acts (1485) was to abolish the restrictions which Richard III had laid upon Italian merchants, and though he next year confirmed the trading privileges of the Hanse League, he worked steadily to break down its monopoly. In 1490 a treaty with the king of Denmark, who was ruler also of Norway, opened the Danish, Norwegian and Iceland trade completely to English ships. London, which in 1497 would only lend the king £4000 out of the £10,000 for which he asked, found it worth while the following year to offer £5000 for a decision which cut at the roots of the Hanse League's unique position. Henry withdrew no privilege, he simply announced that if any conflict were discovered between the respective chartered rights of the City and the Hanse, the privileges of London must have priority (1499, 1504).

Henry was not so foolish as to turn a cold shoulder upon the Hanse cities without seeing that England had her own means of obtaining supplies. Early in the reign he caused two *Navigation Acts* to be passed, which gave a great encouragement to English shipbuilders. It was forbidden to import into England the wines and woad of Gascony except in ships owned by the king's subjects (English, Welsh or Irish) and manned principally by natives. Wine and woad (for dyeing) were our two most important imports, and gave permanent business to merchant ships, and this great traffic, combined with the bounties Henry paid on the building of large ships, sufficed to bring about a great increase of English shipping. Our principal harbours were now, not the Cinque Ports, but those deep-water harbours which were well placed for the Gascon, Italian and Spanish trade—Southampton (with Portsmouth), the Dorset and Devon ports, and Bristol, whose ships sailed everywhere; and,

secondly, the east coast harbours, from Ipswich to Newcastle, which traded with either Flanders or the Baltic. Finally, the *Intercursus Magnus* (1496), a treaty with Spain (1498), and one with the Republic of Riga (1499), not only gave the Merchant Adventurers free havens from Spain to Livonia, but completed an informal alliance of free trading nations against the Hanse League, which marked the beginning of its decline. The native control of commerce, and the proportionate share in it intended for aliens, were emphasised by the establishment of authorised brokers for the latter in London: for the great Italian cities there were twelve, for Spain two, and only two for all other nations.

(C) COMPANIES AND EXPLORERS

Henry VII always encouraged independent trade where possible. It was not yet possible for single merchants to venture into hostile waters; the furnishing forth of fleets with not only goods but weapons, and the establishment of fortified houses in foreign ports, required joint enterprise; nor was it fair that single merchants who paid none of the extra cost and shared none of the responsibilities should slip in, under the protection of the company, to enjoy the profits. Hence there was no opening in foreign trade except for companies established by authority. But when any such body used its power tyrannically the king was ready to intervene. When the Merchant Adventurers, who monopolised the Netherlands trade, made themselves practically a closed company by charging prohibitive entrance fees, the king, in 1497, declared the trade open to all, on payment to the company of a fee of only ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.). In the same way, when the Corporation of London forbade the citizens to visit the fairs of other English towns—a barefaced attempt at boycotting those fairs and keeping London prices high—Henry annulled their decree. That such an attempt could be made shows how little the mayor and aldermen were as yet looking beyond their personal fortunes. The Corporation of London again tried to restrain general commerce for its own benefit by forbidding the importation of Italian silk goods. London had a considerable silk manufacture, yet the king refused to give the City such a monopoly, and (1504) permitted the Italian imports. Even in private cases of injustice the Star Chamber could be invoked by the victim against the Corporation of London. Corporate tyranny was by no means exceptional, and Henry placed a strong check upon it by enacting that fresh regulations of the gilds must be endorsed either by a principal royal minister (Chancellor or Treasurer) or by a judge (1504). The king's policy in both naval and commercial respects was directed, first, towards making the kingdom and the monarch strong; secondly, towards encouraging the growth of general national wealth and enterprise rather than that of special interests,—the welfare of all, rather than

the wealth of some. This was the consistent aim of Tudor monarchs and statesmen, and they were more anxious to develop at home the production of useful things than to get them from abroad, even if the home industry cost money. Commercial policy, therefore, was usually directed by this wish to provide employment at home for a growing population. Henry's constant encouragement of Italians was less influenced by political considerations than was his attitude towards Flanders and Spain; the Italian cities were foremost in all the arts of civilisation, and the greatly increased intercourse between England and Italy bore fruit in many and non-political directions.

No doubt it was Henry's patronage of Genoese sailors and naval models which led Christopher Columbus to apply to him in 1489 for help in his project for an exploring voyage to find a direct sea-way to India and China ("Cathay"), which he believed to lie just across the Atlantic Ocean. Unfortunately Christopher's brother, who brought his petition and plans, was captured on his way by French pirates, and Columbus, hearing nothing from him, betook himself to Spain, and although when the message at last reached Henry he at once invited Columbus to London, it was then too late (1492), and Spain profited by the great sailor's genius.

Already (1490) another Italian navigator, John Cabot, had migrated to Bristol, now the greatest and most enterprising English port. Bristol mariners regularly sailed to all the ports of the Irish coast and to Scandinavia and Iceland, and they had themselves ventured far into the Atlantic to look, not for India, but for an unknown land, the "New Isle," of which they probably had heard vague tidings in the course of their trade with Iceland. Cabot, helped by Henry, and with Bristol crews, made two successful voyages (1497 and 1498), and reached the coasts of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia and the "New Found Land." The Spanish envoy told King Ferdinand that Cabot had made a chart of his discoveries, but it must be false, because he *could* only have discovered the West Indies, which Columbus had already found and which were therefore Spanish property: and so he had told King Henry, who (he added) did not seem pleased. The king and Bristol, however, had a better understanding than the Spaniard of the possibilities of the Atlantic, and year by year ship after ship, mostly English, but sometimes Portuguese, fought its way westward, and brought home charts and tidings, and to each one Henry gave a reward, though they had not yet reached the goal which both the king and the sailors desired. This was a route to "Cathay" and India, where they would be sure to find spices and jewels, the equivalents, then, of sudden fortune. They had not yet realised that a continent blocked the way; and the courses of wind and waters from the English west coast took sailing vessels too far north for the West Indian isles. By the time that America was understood to be, not Asia, but a new continent, Spain had

made good her claim to monopolise Mexico and the adjacent regions, and Portugal was establishing her hold on the coast of Brazil. Nevertheless, English mariners held to their vision of a sea road to India and Cathay, and began to look for it either round the north of America (the North-West Passage) or round Norway (the North-East Passage), and Sebastian Cabot, son of John the navigator, organised expeditions which, searching for this second route, discovered Archangel in 1554, and opened there a new field for enterprising merchants.

V

ENGLAND AND EUROPE

(II) THE ALLIANCE WITH SPAIN (1500-1529). WOLSEY (1509-1529)

THE alliance which Henry VII had concluded with Spain, sealed by the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with the Princess Catherine (1501), was too much to the advantage of both to be shaken by the blow which fell upon the English king next year, when the Prince was seized by a sudden illness and died.

The event was felt by all to be a calamity, for Prince Henry, the surviving son of Henry VII and Elizabeth, was only ten years old, and some of the king's ministers wished him to break off the proposed marriage of the king of Scots with Princess Margaret, lest the crown might fall to her descendants, and so England be annexed by a Scottish king. Henry only replied that there was no danger to this country: should the catastrophe happen, the larger and stronger kingdom, he said, would easily draw to itself the smaller, weaker and poorer one.

Child though Prince Henry was, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain suggested to Henry VII that Catherine might become his bride, and so the alliance continue on exactly the same terms as before. Henry VII agreed, partly because he could not face the costly payments which he must, by the treaty, make to his widowed daughter-in-law if he was obliged to let her return to Spain. He had promised a widow's dower of "one-third of the lands of Wales, Cornwall and Chester," and he could hardly place those districts under the agents of a Spanish princess living abroad.

The strength of the king of England's position is seen by the anxiety of Ferdinand to bring about this second marriage and the hesitations which caused Henry to keep putting off the betrothal. It was he, not the Spanish sovereigns, who pointed out the doubtful orthodoxy of a marriage with a brother-in-law. The "Catholic kings" of Spain, however, knowing that the pope would grant any dispensation they desired, overruled Henry's objection. For centuries the popes had exercised unchallenged the power of forbidding or permitting marriages of relatives or connections, according to the special circumstances involved, nor did Julius II show any scruple in granting the dispensation. The betrothal, therefore, took place, but not the marriage; the king of England preferred

to wait till the boy, now Prince of Wales, should grow up. In the meantime he held the whip hand of Ferdinand. Queen Elizabeth had followed her son to the grave early in 1503, and Henry himself might make a second marriage which would open fresh avenues of renown or profit. The sovereign with whom he negotiated was, not Ferdinand, but Ferdinand's son-in-law, Philip the Archduke, ruler of Flanders, heir to Austria and, doubtless, the Empire, and also (in right of his wife) to Castile and probably Aragon. Henry VII was arranging for the future, to the dismay of Ferdinand. In order to have a handle, should the marriage of Catherine with Prince Henry prove in the future an inconvenient tie upon his own or his son's policy, the English king actually caused the boy, now fifteen, to make a formal, but private, statement that he did not consider himself bound by the betrothal arranged for him in his childhood, but held it null and void. Thus doubts of the lawfulness of this ill-omened marriage were placed on record by both Henry VII and his heir.

Henry was able to bring his negotiations with Philip to a most triumphant conclusion through an accident which befell the archduke. He and his wife Juana (sister of Catherine and queen of Castile now that Isabella was dead) had set out upon a voyage from Flanders to Castile, but were driven by a winter storm upon the coast of Dorset, and, in consequence, were constrained to pay a visit to the English king. Henry lavished great sums upon festivities and feasts which lasted for more than a month, and made Philip a Knight of the Garter. Philip then made the Prince of Wales a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and, more important, signed with Henry VII a comprehensive treaty, which was so much to the advantage of England in commercial matters that the Flemings indignantly called it an *Intercursus malus* (1506).

The personal provisions of this treaty included a promise of the hand of Philip's sister, Margaret of Savoy (widow of Count Philibert of Savoy), for Henry VII, and that of Philip's little son Charles for Henry's daughter Mary, though Charles was as much too young for her as Catherine was too old for Prince Henry.

The real aim of Henry VII was to check Ferdinand, who was at this time in alliance with Louis XII against Maximilian and Philip, and was taking a French princess as his second wife. The aim of the two Hapsburgs was to draw on English resources, Henry VII being reputed the wealthiest and the wisest king in Europe, while the English sovereign might reasonably think it quite possible that one or other of the proposed marriages might link together in a great empire other countries than Spain, Naples and Flanders. It is true that Margaret of Savoy, who was one of the most able and determined women of the time, merely scoffed at her brother and declined Henry's hand, but when Philip himself was carried off by a brief illness, a catastrophe which seemed to turn the tables

suddenly upon Henry's triumph, the English king coolly began his diplomatic game afresh by offering to marry the newly widowed Juana of Castile. It was doubtful whether she was sane, so strangely did she manifest her grief for her lost husband. But, wrote the Spanish ambassador, who was in favour of the proposition, Henry was so good that he would certainly be much kinder to her than any other husband would, and so wise that she would no doubt recover her senses if she were married to him. In the midst of these curious negotiations, and at the height of his fame and power, Henry VII died, in April 1509.

No immediate change appeared in the relations of England with the continental countries. Henry VIII inherited a huge treasure which made him the richest king in Europe. He inherited also a band of able ministers and the wise counsel of his grandmother, the Lady Margaret. Foreign affairs remained under the direction of Fox, bishop of Winchester, the greatly trusted minister of Henry VII. There was not, as yet, a separation of national business into departments, except for finance and justice, but naturally individual ministers would devote themselves to particular spheres of work and influence. The royal ministers now included Poynings, the experienced Irish deputy; Warham, the aged archbishop; two other old men, the earl of Surrey, still considered an eminent soldier, and Treasurer Lovell; and among the younger men, the two extortionate Councillors, Sir Edmund Dudley and Richard Empson, and a clerical diplomatist, Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, a man trained under Fox and marked by Henry VII for higher employment.

It was usual to open a new reign with some public act of generosity. The unpopularity of the late king's recent fiscal exactions was well known to the royal family and the court, and a proclamation was issued offering restitution of any lands or fines wrongfully exacted by the two fiscal commissioners, Dudley and Empson. Such loud and universal complaints resulted that it was felt that mere restitution—which actually took place on a large scale—would be insufficient to appease either the nobility or the commonalty, and, with a total disregard of law and fairness, Empson and Dudley were declared to be guilty of treason and put to death under an Act of Attainder. This was an over-harsh penalty for financial oppression done under royal authority, and the summary infliction of death for such a cause, yet upon a different and baseless charge, and without any trial, was a sinister omen for the new reign, had men looked into it, though it proved to be an excellent bid for popularity.

In the more dignified sphere of foreign policy, Henry VIII apparently continued on his father's lines. He wedded Catherine with the greatest splendour (and thus accepted the betrothal

against which he had been made to protest eight years earlier), and he then endeavoured to intervene, in Italy, on behalf of the Republic of Venice against the French king, in pursuance of the king of Aragon's policy. The union, at least, of Catherine and Henry had, in fact, provided Ferdinand I with an agent in England better than any ambassador, and for several years the crafty Spanish king directed the political action of his son-in-law partly by means of his daughter.

Catherine was a devoted daughter and for some years she knew how to manage her inexperienced young husband. No one, she told her father, could be kinder and more generous to a wife. Making all allowance for the deference then expected from a daughter to a father, the elaborate compliments usual in letters, and even for some natural feeling of superiority which the mature Spanish princess might entertain towards a boyish English husband, there is something unpleasant in Catherine's perseverance as her father's tool in manipulating Henry and England.

Ferdinand was a peculiarly perfidious monarch and the most deliberate instigator of wars of plunder. He enticed his possible rivals, the king of France and the Emperor, into a shameless attack upon the neutral state of Venice (League of Cambrai 1508) on no grounds but greed and the expectation that a commercial and sea-scattered power would not be able to withstand military robbery by land. Then, when Louis XII proved too successful for Ferdinand's satisfaction, he inveigled his English son-in-law into coming to the assistance of the pope and Venice against the French, and helping, as it was put, "to drive the barbarians out of Italy." Henry, enthusiastic for the Church, desirous of winning glory, and readily crediting his father-in-law's assurance that he could now reconquer Gascony, joined the "Holy League," and sent out a grand expedition under the marquis of Dorset, a nobleman of his mother's kin, to attack the south of France. But Ferdinand took care that, though the English army usefully blocked the way of the French while he himself occupied Navarre, it got no opportunity of conducting an independent campaign, nor would he supply the provisions and transport which he had promised. Dorset was helpless, knowing neither how to command his men nor how to put pressure on the Spaniards, and at last the army itself mutinied as one man, marched to the coast, went on board ship and sailed back to England (1512). A dashing raid on Brest harbour ended in much the same way. The admiral, a Howard, lost his life in a deed of foolhardy daring, but his captains, who had no orders and no provisions, immediately brought their ships home. Europe rang with the news of the ignominious evacuation by both army and navy, England and her young king were covered with ridicule, and the prestige won by Henry VII suddenly vanished.

Henry VIII was unable to lay blame upon any individual at home. The one thing in which none of his father's sage old ministers were

experienced was war, and the king had only himself to trust to. He perceived, not only that he was the laughing-stock of Europe, but that his father-in-law was untrustworthy, and he resolved to restore immediately the credit of England and to do so on lines of his own. Not for the first or last time did an English ruler have to learn, by bitter experience, the folly of trusting to allies, the necessity for England to exert herself. He insisted, therefore, on continuing the war with France, although, as he alone had been discomfited, while Ferdinand and Maximilian had obtained all they wanted, they now recommended peace. War with France was, of course, as popular at home as ever. The people were quite unaware that in naval and military practice they were now behind the rest of Europe, for the long-bow, which was still the favourite weapon of this nation, was overmatched by artillery, in which arm other nations had made more progress than the English, while the French squadrons, better disciplined and under admirals who had tactical skill, were likely to prove more than a match for the haphazard raids on the French coast which English sailors then called war.

The king entrusted the preparation of a new army, which he meant to lead himself, to Wolsey, and he, and perhaps Henry also, perceived that more was required to form an army and a navy than brave soldiers and good ships. The recent failures had been produced by incompetence in the supreme command, ignorance and lack of discipline in officers and men, and neglect of commissariat, and Wolsey tasked his great abilities to array a force, perhaps better disciplined, certainly much better provided with every kind of necessary, than Dorset's had been. In the extraordinarily short time of a few months, men, munitions and provisions were ready, as well as transport to convey them across the Straits to Picardy. Under Henry's eye no man durst misbehave, or felt, indeed, anything but enthusiasm.

Having crossed successfully, Henry's splendid army formed the siege of the strong fortress of Terouenne according to the most correct model. With equal correctness Louis XII, too old and ill to lead his army himself, despatched a force, principally of cavalry, to relieve the place. Maximilian, however, had brought, for once, a strong body of troops to join his ally, and the French, heavily outnumbered, were seized with a sudden panic and fled. "The battle of the Spurs," as the French named this affair (1513), led to the surrender of Terouenne and then to that of the wealthy city of Tournay. Maximilian and Henry celebrated their victory with splendour: the Emperor engaged to carry out his son Philip's promise by marrying his grandson Charles to Henry's sister Mary, and he secured the conquered towns for himself, while Henry received high expressions of papal gratitude and more solid subsidies from an unwontedly enthusiastic parliament for the further prosecution of the war.

There was, however, no more war, but a swift change of policy.

A race to make peace had begun. Ferdinand, jealous of any alliance of England with Flanders, set himself against the marriage of Mary with Charles, who was grandson and heir to both himself and Maximilian, and endeavoured to make a secret treaty with France; Maximilian, anxious to keep his gains and to risk no more, actually did make a private truce with Louis XII, and Henry, aware of their proceedings, threw over his faithless allies (the Emperor, the king of Spain and the Pope), and accepted the excellent terms offered him by Louis XII, who felt himself a match for the Hapsburg and Spanish hypocrites if he were only safe on the side of England.

Wolsey, who had fitted out the army so well, was now sent to negotiate the peace. The hand of the king's sister, the beautiful and high-spirited Princess Mary, was given to the old French king, Tournay was to be English and Wolsey bishop of it, and Louis XII engaged to pay Henry VIII the regular pension he had given to his father, and pensions also to certain English courtiers. Thus an Anglo-French alliance suddenly confronted the discomfited members of the "Holy League."

In the meantime the Border war between England and Scotland, which was inevitable whenever England warred on France, had broken out, as was expected, in the same year, 1513, and had been suddenly and decisively ended by the overwhelming victory of Flodden. The aged earl of Surrey had the command of the English forces: the credit for their prompt despatch is sometimes given to Queen Catherine, who wrote to Henry that she was "horribly busy with making standards, banners and badges," and the Stanleys claimed the military honours of the victory for their Lancashire and Cheshire archers. But according to the accounts given, the victory seems to have been almost a miracle wrought by the folly of the Scottish king. Surrey committed the worst errors a general could, and part of his weary and starving force ran from the field as soon as possible, but the Scots (as on many other occasions) deserted the admirable position which should have secured them an easy triumph, and charged down the hill into the thick of the English, so that Surrey's cannon shattered their ranks before they came to hand-blows. Then they stood massed together, as in the old days of Wallace, and, outnumbered and riddled with arrows, fell man by man, the king among them. "Your Grace shall see how I can keep my promise," wrote Catherine to her husband in France, "when I send you for your banner the coat of a king." The victory of Flodden left the widow of James IV, Margaret of England, the nominal regent of Scotland in the name of her little son James V, and though she very soon lost this position, feuds among the Scottish nobles followed, and not until the boy was grown a man was there again any serious menace to England from Scotland.

Suddenly this brilliant political position was wrecked by the death of Henry's new brother-in-law, the king of France. Policy

depended almost wholly on the personality of the sovereign in a state where, as in France, the Crown had subdued all other political forces to itself. The heir of Louis XII was his cousin François I, a young man, selfishly ambitious, vain and untrustworthy. He and Henry were almost of an age, and for a good many years had heard so much of each other that a feeling of personal rivalry animated both. England was thus suddenly left without an ally, a position felt to be ignominious as well as unsafe in view of the ambitions of other monarchs, and for several years intricate negotiations went on, entrusted by Henry, very naturally, to the minister who had won the triumphs of 1513-1514, Thomas Wolsey.

Wolsey's aim was, first, to secure his king's approval by making him triumphant and famous—the natural ambition of the young king; secondly, to secure himself in a position of such power and magnificence as might conduct him to the papal throne, and besides these aims he cherished the hope of securing for England a dominating position in Europe. He encouraged Henry's love of pleasure and splendour, and himself, with extraordinary energy, undertook and very ably transacted the business of government. Henry was no bad judge of men, nor did he consider it the part of a king to do himself any work which might be satisfactorily done by others. For some years he left the conduct of affairs, at home and abroad, to the man who evidently was competent to undertake it, and rewarded him lavishly. Wolsey became bishop of Lincoln and of Winchester, in 1514 archbishop of York, and the next year he was made Chancellor and practically sole minister. The pope evinced his gratitude to the English king by making Wolsey a cardinal, and two years later, by special royal permission, he became also papal legate. That this not only placed him above the archbishop of Canterbury but gave him a privileged and independent position, even as regarded the king, was seen with alarm and indignation by the Lords, and the unpopularity which, in those suspicious times, always shadowed any sudden and remarkable rise, rapidly centred upon him.

Wolsey was the first and only English churchman of a certain Italian type. To him the Church was the ladder of his career, which he expected to climb by ability in political affairs, a lavish use of wealth, and eminence in the intellectual fashions of the day—a lavish patronage of education and magnificence in architecture. As a minister, he hoped to link his personal career with his country's glory. He was neither a learned theologian nor personally devout, not even moral in private life; on the continent such qualifications had long been unnecessary to the aspiring ecclesiastic. But Wolsey had to base his ladder upon his native soil, and the more simple English were shocked. His magnificent palace at York Place (now Whitehall) and the splendour he loved to maintain in his household roused as much murmuring as admiration; even his justice and efficiency as Chancellor won him little gratitude beside

the jealousy caused by his monopoly of power. Cardinals were traditionally unpopular in England, because they embodied the papal claim to grant powers which superseded those of all native magnates. From the earls and bishops to their humblest retainers, men resented the spectacle of a papal officer placing himself above the archbishops and dukes, and Wolsey's love of self-assertion led him to emphasise his own superiority as often as he could.

In politics, Wolsey's object was to replace England in that proud position in which Henry VII had left her, and from which Ferdinand and Henry VIII had deposed her—the position of the power whose alliance should give the preponderance to the side she joined. He had a fair field for his endeavours when, a few months after Louis XII, that hoary hypocrite, Ferdinand of Spain, also died, and Charles became king of Spain and Naples as well as ruler of Flanders (1516).

François I, rashly ambitious, provoked Henry VIII by fitting out an expedition under a Scottish refugee, the duke of Albany, which deprived the dowager queen of Scots, Margaret (Henry's sister), of power and drove her to England for refuge. At the same time the French king led a fine army into Italy, attacked the duchy of Milan (claimed by the Emperor Maximilian), and covered himself with glory by a brilliant victory at Marignano. Wolsey had little difficulty in forming an alliance against France with the Emperor Maximilian and Charles. "You," said Maximilian to his grandson, "can take in the French, I can take in the English." This he successfully did by extracting an enormous sum of money from Henry, and then hurrying away from the campaign just begun, on the excuse that he could not pay his troops. The imperial army broke up and Maximilian procured another great sum from François as purchase money for the imperial claim on Milan.

Wolsey contrived, however, to mask the failure of his policy by negotiating rapidly with François I, and a treaty was signed (1518), which professed to secure—what popes and idealists were constantly dreaming and preaching—the universal peace of Europe. It was to be sealed, as usual, by a royal marriage, this time of the infant son of François with Henry's little daughter Mary, at that time two years old. The English ministers and people were so thankful to have a peace, after three years of turmoil and excessive expense, that they praised Wolsey excessively.

A second time death gave the Cardinal an opportunity of exhibiting his skill. Maximilian the Penniless died, and a new Emperor had to be elected. So overweening was the ambition of François I that he imagined that he might secure the lofty dignity himself, and Henry, personally anxious to thwart his latest ally, of whom he was boyishly jealous, urged on negotiations in Germany to secure the election of either himself or Charles. The seven Electors, and all who could be expected to influence them, reaped a golden harvest from France, the Papacy and England, and then elected Charles,

as they had doubtless intended to do all along. The youthful Charles was already king of Spain and Naples, duke of Burgundy (Flanders) and archduke of Austria, when he became Emperor (1519), and he is always known by his imperial title, as Charles V. Thenceforward for nearly thirty years Charles V, François I and Henry VIII controlled Europe, and at a time of peculiar crisis their personal aims and characters largely determined the destinies of nations.

Probably no monarch ever had a more thorough intellectual and theological training than Henry VIII, or was better versed in art and chivalry than François I, or had a stronger sense of religion than Charles V, yet in their own dominions and in Italy the three caused ruin beyond repair and plunged Europe into political and religious strife for a century.

Both Charles and François sought the alliance of Henry through Wolsey. Henry VIII gratified his love of pleasure and splendour by holding a personal interview with François I, near Calais, amid the utmost magnificence, on "The Field of Cloth of Gold." It was a mere pretence, and an excessive waste of money. Cardinal and king, the latter perhaps not uninfluenced by Queen Catherine, had resolved to try rather the Imperial alliance, which was quietly arranged in two meetings, Charles visiting England and Henry visiting Flanders. The result was a renewal of war with France, a great expenditure, heavy taxes and compulsory gifts, all of which produced very little success.

Henry intended to besiege Boulogne, and perhaps to attack the French navy; Charles, however, succeeded in bringing the English army over to Flanders, and in drawing large sums of money from Henry's treasury to pay his own troops, promising to attack Gascony from Spain. But he had an even worse head for military affairs than Henry VIII, and to suit his own diplomatic schemes he nullified all the English efforts. Gascony was not attacked, French Boulogne continued to confront English Calais, and the Emperor did not use his influence to obtain the election of Wolsey as pope. He indeed wrote a letter in his favour to the cardinals, but gave secret orders that his messenger should be delayed till it was certain that he would reach Rome too late. For the third time the English king had squandered his energies and resources upon a useless war, for the sole benefit of an astute ally and to the grave injury of English interests at home and in Ireland.

Wolsey saw that peace was necessary, and negotiations began in 1525, just after a terrible defeat at Pavia had ruined François I's ambitions, and given him a captive into the Emperor's hands. Charles V now suddenly appeared overwhelmingly powerful: not only France, but Italy, trembled before him. Unpopular as was peace with France, now that the king and Wolsey had again accustomed the people to war, the cardinal carried it through, and the hand of Henry's daughter, little Princess Mary, was again promised to a French prince, and the weight of England flung prudently

into the lighter scale, lest the Spanish Imperial autocrat should prove the tyrant of Europe.

At this moment came news of a terrible outrage, which so shocked men's feelings as to stir a general indignation against the Emperor (1527). The army sent by Charles V into Italy had reached Rome, where the new pope, Clement VII, was an ally of the French. The greater part of the force was a rabble of German mercenaries, fierce, brave and brutal. They were, as usual, left unpaid, and were under even less discipline than was customary in those days. Looking on Italy as a prey, and on war as a profession of butchery and destruction, the great host hurled itself on Rome to obtain compensation for lack of pay and food. The city resisted stoutly for some time and the imperial general (a French rebel, the duke of Bourbon) was slain. Then the troops broke into the city and worked their horrible will in massacre, brutality, sacrilege and fire. Women, children and old men were tortured and murdered; plunder of all kinds was seized to be carried off to Germany, while a general destruction of everything beautiful or sacred revealed to a horror-stricken Europe the reality of German barbarism. The pope became the prisoner of the Emperor, and Charles V did indeed stand forth as the dictator of European politics, even though he might be hampered in Germany by the insubordination of certain princes. All that Henry and Wolsey could do was to help Francis I to obtain terms of peace. It seemed that the magnificent cardinal was less successful than before in his political schemes. But after this date Henry, and therefore England, became too much absorbed in affairs at home to indulge in ambitious foreign schemes.

The true achievement of Henry VIII in this first part of his reign lay, not in political intrigue, in which he was far too brusque and arrogant for success, but in the practical sphere of naval preparation. He took up his father's work with increased energy, and devoted to it ample funds and his own personal attention. Numbers of ships were built, and gradually a new method of using guns was worked out. Port-holes were made in the sides of the vessels, and from these heavy cannon could be fired, in addition to the lighter guns on deck, and "fighting tops" were experimented upon as well. The *broad-sides* which these ships of war could fire added tremendously to their usefulness. The art of "veering," or tacking, was improved also, and an English ship began to be a movable battery of guns which could be manœuvred by her crew, and so got an advantage over less mobile craft something like that enjoyed by a horse battery attacking infantry.

The disasters early in the reign taught the king that ships and guns depended on men, and he took practical steps to secure willing crews. The mariners were not only engaged at good wages, but their wages were honestly and punctually paid to them, a rare thing in those times, when men generally had to wait or beg for their salaries. For many years coats were provided also—the first

uniform dress heard of in the navy. Next, rules of discipline were drawn up and regular officers appointed. Finally, an attempt was made to provide wholesome diet by victualling contracts. This, however, was a difficult problem. Biscuit, salt beef, herring, cheese and beer was the food required; it must be got ready beforehand, and regularly; it was not always required in equal quantity; bakeries and breweries were not accustomed to wholesale orders; there were as yet no means of cold-storage; a host of contractors and stores-men had to be employed, and a number of minor officials to pay them; in short, it was very easy to cheat and there was continual speculation.

Except in this respect, Henry's methods of management were good. Like his father, he placed the navy in the hands of gentlemen who were known to him. The captains and lieutenants of the ships also were men of the middle class, while the whole great undertaking was controlled by a knot of responsible men, each of whom was experienced in a special direction. From 1546 this committee was permanently established as the *Navy Board*.

Among the skilled officials on the south coast occur the names of several families who worked for generations in the naval service, such as the Gonsons, Wynters and Hawkinses, while the east coast, which had a distinct command, gives the names of Howard, Clere and Paston.

VI

FIRST MOVEMENTS TOWARDS REFORM (1475-1529)

As soon as Henry VII had grasped firmly the reins of government the spirit of enterprise stirred again in England. Freed from the nightmare of civil and foreign war, men turned their attention and their resources to new experiments. While the mariners of Bristol were searching the ocean westwards, the renewal of peaceful intercourse with Europe enabled students to visit at last the springs of what was termed "the New Learning" (*i. e.* Greek) in Italy. For half a century or more men of intellect had been travelling to Italy to find knowledge and inspiration in architecture, art, engineering and scholarship. Only Englishmen had been missing, and England had now fallen behind other countries intellectually.

The practical invention of the printing-press had, indeed, been brought over from Flanders in Edward IV's time by Caxton, but Caxton was not an artistic or scholarly publisher like the famous printers of Venice and Florence; he had to print what he knew would repay him, so little encouragement was there for learned books. The court of Edward IV had to some degree patronised the new way of producing books, but only as a fashion. For men of learning no patron appeared between Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (*d.* 1447) and the Lady Margaret. Nevertheless the lamp of learning had been kept burning in more than one of the ancient schools, where, from the middle of the fifteenth century, the foundations of Waynflete and others provided students able to benefit by improved teaching. The first impulse was apparently given by William Selling, of Oxford, Prior of Canterbury. Canterbury, Winchester and London, respectively, sent (1475-90), Linacre, Grocyn and Colet to Oxford, where at New College there was a learned Italian who taught Greek. Grocyn then became the teacher of Oxford in the New Learning, and among his pupils were William Lily, the grammarian, William Warham, and possibly Wolsey, who was at one time (*c.* 1499) headmaster of Waynflete's model school attached to Magdalen College.

Linacre, Grocyn, Colet, and Lily had all travelled to Paris and to Italy, shortly after Henry VII's accession, there to learn from Greeks and eminent Italians.

Greek meant the great poets and philosophers, some of the early

Christian Fathers, and the New Testament in the original. It meant the startling contrast of profound thought and original genius with the wordy conventionalities of the later Middle Ages. Other zealous students also resorted to Paris and Florence, and at the former young William Blount (Lord Mountjoy) became a pupil and friend of the most famous Latin scholar in Europe, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who was already holding up a new standard of learning and honesty. When they returned home, in the 'nineties, Oxford suddenly became recognised as a seat of learning hardly second to Paris. The most remarkable of the pupils attracted by the fame of her teachers was Thomas More, the son of a London judge, as Colet was of a Lord Mayor.

Towards the close of Henry's reign, several of the band of friends transferred their energies to London, the centre of English intellectual activity, and Henry VII, always a friend to talent, placed them in positions of influence. Linacre was named tutor to Prince Arthur (1500); he devoted himself especially to the study of medicine and laid the foundation of that science in England. He was in great favour with Henry VIII, and most of the great personages of the day were his patients.

John Colet, Henry VII made dean of St. Paul's (1503). Warham, who had for some years been in the royal service, became archbishop (1504), and the one Cambridge representative of learning, John Fisher, was distinguished by the Lady Margaret, whom he persuaded to endow education rather than monasteries, believing that sound learning was the best defence of the Church against secular attacks. Henry soon made him bishop of Rochester. Cambridge had sunk into an almost illiterate condition, and Fisher, who was made vice-chancellor, devoted himself to reforming it, with the help of the king's mother (who founded two colleges as well as lectureships) and of Erasmus, who taught there as the Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity. He succeeded so well that early in the reign of Henry VIII Cambridge supplanted Oxford as the home of learning and reform.

The most striking characteristic of the Oxford reformers and their friend Erasmus was their deep religious feeling. Italian scholars usually confined themselves to the Greek pagan writers, Colet and Erasmus studied also the New Testament. And their aim was to bring the results of their discoveries to the knowledge of others. Actual piety seemed to them the true end of learning and the principal object at which reformers must aim. Colet expended the great fortune he inherited from his father in the re-foundation of the ancient school of St. Paul's for London boys, where they should learn on the new principles, based upon grammar rather than upon flogging. William Lily was the first headmaster, and he and Erasmus compiled the first modern grammar for the boys.

The experienced Colet and the young and enthusiastic More were already friends of the famous Erasmus, when, too poor to travel to

Italy, he first came to England, at Mountjoy's invitation, to learn Greek at Oxford. He placed on record his impressions of our country. "Believe me" (he wrote to a friend in 1499), "I never liked anything so much before. I find the climate both pleasant and wholesome; and I have met with so much kindness and so much learning, not hackneyed and trivial but deep, accurate, ancient, Latin and Greek, that, but for the curiosity of seeing it, I do not now so much care for Italy. When I hear my Colet I seem to be listening to Plato himself. In Grocyn, who does not marvel at such a perfect round of learning? What can be more profound and deliberate than the judgment of Linacre? What has Nature ever created more gentle, more sweet, more happy than the genius of Thomas More? . . . It is marvellous how generous and abundant is the harvest of ancient learning in this country."

On one occasion he witnessed a lively argument at a college dinner-party: "A choice time, choice place, no arrangements neglected. The good cheer would have satisfied Epicurus; the table talk would have pleased Pythagoras; the guests might have peopled an Academy and not merely made up a dinner-party. First, there was Richard [Charnock], that high priest of the Graces; then, the divine who had preached the Latin sermon the same day, a person of modesty as well as learning. . . . Colet, assertor and champion of the old theology, was at the head of the table, on his right sat the prior, a man in whose composition there is an admirable mixture of learning, benevolence and honesty. On Colet's left sat the modern theologian. His left was covered by me, . . . many subjects gave rise to discussion, but upon one point there was a vehement conflict of opinion . . ." By "old" Erasmus meant that Colet was not a Greek scholar, not that he was of the conventional medieval type, which interpreted Scripture as having a secret meaning, something other than the plain sense of the words, which had been worked out by theologians and was only known to scholastic students of the medieval commentaries. The "new" school, Erasmus foremost, maintained that the Scriptures meant what they said, that a phrase must not be torn from its context and interpreted by the fancy of the theologian, and that a knowledge of the original tongues—Hebrew and Greek—and judicious common-sense were alike necessary for true understanding and translation. Such principles struck at the root of the old-fashioned theology, which had attached many strange meanings to the Latin text—Hebrew and Greek being unknown to the *Schoolmen*, as the medieval logicians and commentators were termed. Naturally, therefore, the champions of the old-established system became furious with the new scholarship, and on the Continent persecution was used, which was also attempted, but with less success, in England. When Colet began to preach in London, the aged bishop accused him of heresy; one of the grounds was that he had said that the command to St. Peter, "Feed my sheep," did not mean that the bishops were

to keep up a lavish hospitality. Warham had crushed the bishop's attempt, but Colet certainly aimed at no less than reforming the conventional modes of study which had turned theology into mere subtleties, and abolishing among the leaders of the Church the gross abuses which were causing men to discuss the possibility of the reform of the Church by the government.

Erasmus' experience of England was not limited to the University. He wrote that in a few weeks he had become "almost a sportsman, no bad rider, a courtier of some practice . . . did you but know the blessings of Britain you would clap wings to your feet and run hither." He can hardly say enough of the charming manners of the ladies, whose custom was always to welcome their guests with a kiss. Later in life he recalled how he first made the acquaintance of Henry VII's son, Prince Henry. "I was staying [in 1499] at Lord Mountjoy's country house [at Greenwich], when Thomas More came to see me and took me out with him for a walk as far as the next village [Eltham], where all the king's children, except Prince Arthur, were being educated. When we came into the hall, the attendants, not only of the palace, but also of Mountjoy's household, were all assembled. In the midst stood Prince Henry, then nine years old and having already something of royalty in his demeanour, in which there was a certain dignity combined with a singular courtesy. On his right was Margaret, about eleven years of age, afterwards married to James, king of Scots, and on his left played Mary, a child of four. Edmund was an infant in arms. More, after paying his respects to the boy Henry, the same that is now king of England, presented him with some writing. I was angry with More for not having warned me, especially as the boy sent me a little note, while we were at dinner, to challenge something from my pen." Whereupon Erasmus went home, and in three days wrote a Latin poem upon England which he sent to the young prince. His dedication ended—"Farewell, and may Good Letters be illustrated by your splendour, protected by your authority and fostered by your liberality."

In fact, the liberality of Warham and a few other patrons enabled Erasmus to make his journey to Italy to study Greek. He returned to England more famous than ever, soon after the accession of Henry VIII, and gratified Fisher by lecturing at Cambridge (1515). With Linacre, Colet, Lily, and More in London, Grocyn in Oxford, Fisher and Erasmus at Cambridge, all maintaining the highest standards of learning, morals and cultivated manners, England had made a good beginning towards the necessary and long-delayed work of "reform" in religion and education, a reform which meant both the sweeping away of what was useless and false, and the development, at the same time, of new studies and ideals to take the place of the worn-out and now worthless systems. It was the belief of all these distinguished men that Truth would prevail, if a free field were allowed her, and that she would convince, first

the educated, and then, through their influence, the less educated, of the reality of the Christian faith and the need of a Christian life. They hoped to see colleges for education, or homes of piety where the poor would be succoured and taught, replace the wasteful monasteries with their comfortable monks and crowds of idle beggars; they hoped to see attendance at sermons which should teach Christian faith and practice replace pilgrimages to the relics of saints; and in their own homes and schools they showed how study and affection could replace folly and cruelty. Erasmus held up to contempt a schoolmaster who had a little boy flogged ferociously for a fault he had not committed, in order to break his spirit; More educated his daughters to read and enjoy the Classics. St. Paul's provided London with a model school; others were to be found in smaller towns, Banbury, *e. g.*, being famous.

Colet, addressing Convocation, told the clergy that there was ample law and ample power for the Church to reform herself, and that it was for the ecclesiastics to set to work, but they paid no heed to his warning. The bishop made it a complaint against him that to his sermons in St. Paul's came "many Lollards"—a remark which suggests that Lollards were still numerous and well known in the capital, and perhaps that they were more interested in reforms within the Church than in attacking the Church. Colet's emphasis upon the needlessness of "new laws" shows that there was open discussion of such a remedy long before his death in 1519.

The same movement was in progress upon the Continent, where in Germany and the Netherlands the great names of Reuchlin and Melancthon stood with that of Erasmus, for an effort to lay the foundation of a better study of Christian origins in the knowledge of the original Hebrew and Greek scriptures, and of the Early Fathers of the Church, Jerome, Origen and Augustine. The works of the last-named were, indeed, constantly claimed as authorities by the most bigoted of the old-fashioned monks, friars and clergy, but their knowledge was derived from stock passages in medieval commentaries, at second or third hand. In fact the religion with which Europe was practically acquainted had been, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, mainly derived by monks, friars, bishops and teachers under papal guidance, from these third or fourth-hand books, and from the fancies, and even the forgeries, of certain medieval Schoolmen. The religion known to the mass of ordinary people was, in the fifteenth century, very much one of externals; of rites performed by the priests to procure salvation for the persons who paid for them; of forgiveness of sins and exemption from penance obtained by purchase from papal agents; of so-called pilgrimages, which were (even in the time of Chaucer) principally merry journeys for amusement, and sometimes for actually vicious ends; while "the Religious," that is, the monks and friars, though many of them were harmless and some worthy, had, nevertheless, so lived in general

that the idleness, gluttony and pride of the monks, and the greed and fraud of the friars, had for two centuries been commonplaces of jest and satire among all classes. The Robin Hood ballads show the general contemptuous dislike of bishops and abbots. To the continual cry for practical reform among clergy and monks, the scholars were now adding arguments which inevitably involved an attack upon the monopoly of authority which Rome had held since the twelfth century. When Jerome and Augustine, they cried, could maintain opposite principles and contradict each other, one must have been *in error*: if those mighty Fathers were liable to human error, was the theory tenable, of an infallible system, dogmatic upon every point? And, men would ask themselves, if these modern scholars could reveal so much that for several centuries had been forgotten, could all the dogmatic assertions of popes and Church during these centuries of ignorance be infallible?

No wonder, then, that the efforts of Erasmus, or Reuchlin, or Colet stirred alarm among the ruling hierarchy. The attitude of the popes and their obedient bishops had been the same whether a would-be reformer sprang from among themselves or from one of those universities which were the constant objects of their suspicion. The Florentine Savonarola was a friar, urging a moral reform, when Alexander VI ordered him to execution as a heretic (1498). Bishop Pecock, in England, had been trying to convert the Lollards to orthodoxy when his fellow-bishops declared him a heretic and imprisoned him for life (1457). From the beginning of the fifteenth century a charge of heresy almost invariably meant death. Erasmus heard a typical monk "prove" that this was scriptural teaching: St. Paul, he said, bade his converts (in the Latin version) avoid (*devita*) heretics: and the word *devita*, cut in two, gives *de vita*, out of life, so that the apostle really meant "execute" them. There was no reasoning with such Schoolmen.

Under Henry VII there was no danger of persecution for the new leaders. Morton and Warham, both patrons of learning and of reform, were supported by the king himself. His children were educated on the new system, and they became good scholars as well as musical and artistic. Henry, the second son, received an especially theological training. It was thought that he was intended for the archbishopric, perhaps that he might help his brother to bring about that reconstruction in the Church which their father saw to be necessary, but not yet feasible. When Henry VIII ascended the throne his interest in both learning and theology was acute: "Indeed he was a very excellent person in his youth," says Erasmus. His accession was hailed by the enthusiastic reformers as the dawn of a golden age of intellect. Mountjoy, now one of the royal companions and favourites, urged Erasmus to return at once to England: "I have no fear, my Erasmus," he wrote, "but that when you heard that our prince, now Henry the Eighth, whom we may well call our Octavius, had succeeded to his father's throne,

all your melancholy left you at once. For what may you not promise yourself from a prince with whose extraordinary and almost divine character you are so well acquainted? . . . when you know what a hero he now shows himself, how wisely he behaves, what a lover he is of justice and goodness, what affection he bears to the learned, I venture to swear that you will need no wings to make you fly to behold this new and auspicious star. Oh, my Erasmus, if you could see how all the world here is rejoicing in the possession of so great a prince, how his life is all their desire, you could not contain your tears for joy. The heavens laugh, the earth exults, all things are full of milk, of honey, and of nectar! Avarice is expelled the country. Liberality scatters wealth with bounteous hand. Our king does not desire gold or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality." With Colet, the best representative of the orthodox reformers, personally complimented¹; Linacre—an innovator—distinguished by preferment, and Thomas More among the principal royal favourites, the golden age began well: yet only a few years passed before Mountjoy had to see the most conventional idea of 'glory' extinguishing in his perfect king the thirst for virtue. When a friend congratulated More on the royal favour, he drily observed, "If my head could win him a castle in France it should not fail to go."

The intellectual movement in England is exhibited most brilliantly by the Oxford band of scholars, but the numerous foundations and re-endowments of schools under Henry VII and in the earlier years of Henry VIII show that it was well grounded. The leaders of public opinion under Henry VIII were trained on this better system; their principal interest was in the field of practical reform, and they had the moral courage to proclaim their convictions, and no longer depended wholly on royal patronage or displeasure. The king might retard the movement for reform, and even make martyrs of its leaders, but the movement itself was a live force, and akin to the general continental movement.

During the first decade of Henry VIII's reign, and while the boyish king was revelling in sports and extravagance and trying to cover himself with "glory" on battlefields, a series of literary works marked a turning-point in general European and English thought:

1511. Erasmus' *The Praise of Folly*.

1515. More's *Utopia*.

1515. *Letters of Obscure Men* [Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum].

1516. Erasmus' edition of the *New Testament* in the Greek.

1517. Luther's *Theses*.

The first and third of these were amusing satires, written, as was also *Utopia*, in Latin, and therefore accessible to well-educated men

¹ "Let every man choose his own Doctor and believe in him, but this is the Doctor for me," said Henry VIII.

everywhere. *The Praise of Folly*¹ was a biting, yet racy, indictment of the human errors of the day in all classes, not only the ecclesiastical. The *Epistolæ* were a kind of parody, by a German knight, Ulrich von Hutten, castigating savagely the ignorant persecutors of Reuchlin. Both books were widely read and soon translated into English, French and other languages, so that a wider public became familiar with their scathing indictment of the unworthy churchmen. *Utopia*, though partly satirical, is rather a philosophical picture of the Ideal State, as Thomas More, inspired by Greek philosophy, regarded it. That he did not intend it as a practical programme of reform for England is clear from, at least, two points. The ideal country of his fancy is an island so much isolated that its inhabitants could arrange their own polity without interference from their neighbours, and, secondly, in that perfect land all religions were permitted. Yet *toleration*, although as an ideal More could imagine it, was never urged by him as either a duty or a wise policy in practice.

The fun and the severity of the outspoken *Praise of Folly* made all the more impressive Erasmus' most serious and learned work, an edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. Rather later he published another book, intended to help the average priest and reader, known as his *Paraphrase*, or explanation in Latin of the Greek text. This was of the greatest assistance to honest students, as it was not a literal translation, but rather a running commentary in a clear style which they could understand. It became a recognised text-book for the clergy and was a powerful instrument of biblical study for several generations.

The famous *Theses* (or *Statements*) which the friar Martin Luther posted on the church door of Wittenberg were of a different nature from all these works, and formed an appeal to the general German public. The particular abuse against which Luther now began to fight was one which had already been condemned, or ridiculed, since the time of Chaucer, and was (like most of the worst evils in the Church) of comparatively late growth. *Letters of indulgence* had been occasionally issued by popes (from the twelfth century) to particular individuals, to change the penance enjoined upon them by their priest to some other penance which in the pope's view was more suitable—not always easier—such, perhaps, as building a church or going on a crusade. But from the fourteenth century the popes had bestowed indulgences upon a different plan, intricate, and perhaps beautiful, in its theory, but scandalous in practice. Persons who in a devout spirit performed some good work, such as going on pilgrimage or subscribing to the repair of a particular church, hospital, or bridge, or to a papal war, might obtain an indulgence or mystical blessing, which was so expressed as to give to ordinary people the impression that it conveyed some remission of purgatorial pains or even "remission of sin." So many days, weeks, or

¹ Or "Folly's Eulogy." Folly is personified, praising in turn all classes of men who are her devotees.

years were specified as "remitted," and as the devotion and penitence of the pilgrim, or subscriber, were taken for granted by the agent who bestowed the papal indulgence, the inevitable conclusion was that "the pope sold pardon." The few who were sufficiently devout and theological to know better were horrified at the papal profits made out of the uncorrected popular delusion. Roman guide-books had long noted the amount of "remission" to be earned at each shrine by pilgrims praying there. Every fifty years, at times of *Jubilee* in Rome, pilgrims were assured that they had thus won for their souls immediate entrance to heaven when they died, and it was only a natural extension of this idea which led Alexander VI to announce that, as not all mankind could reach Rome, they should be allowed to obtain the same privilege at home, in return for subscribing to a crusade against the Turks (1500). How much of the money was saved for a crusade and how much went into the pockets of the pope's ambitious son, Cæsar Borgia, might be discussed by the cynical, but Henry VII and the English clergy subscribed a great sum, and other lands did the same. Pope Julius II used the same system, and when people slackened in subscribing, agents were sent to travel among the people in all countries, with the papal indulgence ready written out on certificates, to be sold for cash.

Many protests had from time to time been made against such gross materialism, but had produced no reform. In Luther's action, however, there was something new to that age. (1) He flatly attributed to the pope the evils complained of, and refused to obey him. (2) He addressed himself to the mass of the population and to their common-sense and judgment. Thus he differed from the scholarly reformers, who still clung to the hope that a reforming pope might arise and that prelates and clergy would be educated and preached into reforming themselves. Luther gave up this forlorn hope, and further, made his defiance the more positive by rejecting that comparatively modern doctrine on which, as he instinctively felt, the power of the clergy in those late days was really founded, the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In order to oppose the more forcibly the papal claim to a spiritual autocracy, which really amounted (however it might be technically defined) to a claim to judge of right and wrong and absolve from the guilt of sin, Luther emphasised, drawing upon the writings of St. Paul and Augustine, the doctrine of "justification by faith," which in course of time he defined and maintained till it became the distinctive creed of his and his followers' special religious school. He denounced, not indulgences alone, but the whole of the claims of the clergy, as formulated during the later medieval centuries, to be dispensers of spiritual weal or woe, whether by means of pardons, excommunications, dispensations, etc., or by formal administration of the sacraments of the Church. Sacraments, he declared, were of no avail to a man unless his own faith was active.

That much of his anti-papal doctrine had been openly maintained by the English Wyclif, in the terms of the fourteenth century, Luther did not know, but he studied the works of the more famous John Hus, and told his friends that he found himself to be "a Hussite without knowing it."

But to Erasmus, and to many of the English advocates of reform, Luther seemed to be going too far. Though most of them relied upon the help of the royal government to procure certain practical reforms, such as the transfer of monastic endowments to educational and diocesan needs, they saw in Luther's rejection of the pope a blow at the unity of the Church. Most of all they disapproved of his forcible language and his appeal to the common-sense of the masses, who, they recognised, were too ignorant to be judges; while any question of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had been authoritatively accepted as the only orthodox faith, seemed to them and to the young King Henry VIII to be undoubted heresy. Men were not historians in those days, and the lateness of the adoption of this doctrine by the Church as an article of faith was unknown to most of them.

The principal reforming leaders abroad differed from one another. Melancthon and Luther separated, and the great Swiss teacher and preacher, Zwingli (c. 1522), would not for some years agree with Luther's uncompromising severance from the accepted organisation of the Church; for as there was no possibility of abolishing the pope, to reject his supremacy meant breaking up the outward unity of the Church, a thing which seemed to many men so dreadful that they could better bear all abuses in the hope that the preservation of external unity might, somehow, bring about an internal harmony. When, however, Zwingli gave up the papacy he went further than Luther.

But whatever their differences, all the scholars and reformers agreed on one fundamental principle which menaced the mediæval theological system. They refused to accept conclusions which rested solely upon human authority, and asserted, whether by practice or precept, the duty and right of the individual, on the one hand, to apply his understanding to the problems of life and the teaching of religion, and, on the other, to seek in religion a personal help to leading a right and devout life in the workaday world. Nor could Colet or Erasmus perceive any opposition between this principle and the unity of the Church or the sanctity of her sacraments: rather, it seemed to them, would the Church be defended and strengthened, as the fellowship through which flowed the life whereby each Christian used his powers, if a better understanding were kindled in each member. Latimer, one of the youngest of the Cambridge reformers, would be as indignant as Erasmus at a charge of attacking the Church, which, to their view (as in Colet's or in early days), would be revived if her abuses were reformed.

If, however, the Roman authority continued to insist upon the

saving power of a mere acceptance of forms of words and ritual drawn up by old ecclesiastical authority, it was probable that the disciples of the great early reformers might go far beyond the positions held by their teachers.

Henry VIII, ten years after his accession, was not the man to lead so difficult a movement. In Luther he saw only a heretic, and in his indignation he wrote a book against the German friar which won for the king the title of *Fidei Defensor* from the pope, and was (for a king), said Erasmus, a really wonderful book. Thereby he, for the moment, ranged himself on the side of papal authority with an emphasis which made Sir Thomas More venture on a remonstrance. The moderates (old Erasmus and young More) wanted practical changes in the monasteries and the clergy, a knowledge of scriptural teaching spread by the clergy among the people, a cessation of relic-worship and image-worship, of pilgrimages, indulgences and the whole superstitious framework which had come to confine religion, but they would not countenance any questioning of the accepted creeds and doctrines, or dispute the position of the pope, any more than Morton or Warham.

But there were some younger men, soon to be known as reformers—Tyndale, Coverdale, Latimer, Ridley, Barnes, and others of the Cambridge group—who perceived that the idea of a reforming movement directed with the goodwill of the papacy had been a forlorn hope for a hundred years, and—to the dismay of Fisher, who was still Chancellor of that University—they adopted many of the views of Luther and of his originals Hus and Wyclif. Tyndale, driven to the continent, had already printed (1526) his New Testament in English, and Latimer had delivered (1529) his first startling sermons, when a personal, but exceedingly important, question for Henry VIII and England suddenly caused the king to change his view and put himself (in fact) at the head of the large party of men who saw in the papacy itself the cause of abuses and the obstacle to reform, although he himself had no intention of altering anything beyond the legal and political authority of the pope.

But for a dozen years before Henry VIII moved against the papacy, Englishmen had been reading openly the works of Erasmus and Melanchthon and in secret those of Luther, Zwingli and Tyndale, and the king's struggle with Pope Clement VII (1527–9) gave a tremendous impetus to one current in the anti-papal movement which was as odious to the king as to More or Fisher, namely, the theological revolt against the later medieval doctrine. The intention of Henry VIII, throughout, was to abolish papal authority within this country, but to adhere to all the doctrines which Europe, under papal authority, had for so long accepted as orthodox. The nobility and greater gentry would certainly support the king; he could not foresee that the tide of change might rise beyond the control of his authority.

CHAPTER VII

THE KING'S DIVORCE¹ AND THE FALL OF WOLSEY (1509-1529)

(A) THE KING'S CASE

THE moment that he was freed from foreign entanglements, by his treaty with France in 1527, Henry VIII had applied to Pope Clement VII to pronounce his separation from his wife, Queen Catherine. The step was one to which many incidents had long pointed. At the time when the marriage had been arranged by their parents, both Henry VII and Ferdinand had at different times hinted that there might be doubts of the validity of Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. Catherine's confessor had felt scruples, and so had the upright and impartial Archbishop Warham. But as the papal power to dispense with any pledge, treaty or relationship was universally accepted, no further doubts had been expressed after Julius II had provided the dispensation and Henry VIII had of his own choice accomplished the marriage.

After the king's discovery, however, of his father-in-law's treachery in the war of 1514, his indignation at the manner in which he had been hoodwinked by means of the queen led several observers to think that he would divorce her, especially as their four babies had all died, and no one supposed that there would be any difficulty in the matter. But Henry himself showed then no such intention. Probably the question would never have arisen but for the grave fact that all Catherine's seven children, except Mary, died at birth or within a very short time afterwards. The dependence of the peace of the realm upon the sole life of the king was a serious thing, and long before 1527 men had openly said that it was a danger to the realm for Henry to go to France, since in the event of his death the country would be faced with the likelihood of civil war.

The Wars of the Roses were not so far behind but that men looked back upon them with horror, and anxiety about the succession was to make for some eighty years (1520-1600) a threatening background to political quarrels or intrigues. The Princess Mary (b. 1516) was a fragile little girl. If she should die, Henry's only heirs would be his two sisters, Margaret, dowager queen of Scotland, re-married to the earl of Angus, and Mary, dowager queen of France, re-married to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Margaret's children were James V and Lady Margaret Douglas; Mary had three daughters. Few could then imagine a king of Scots annexing England peaceably. Even if the little Princess Mary should live,

¹ *Divorce* is not technically correct, but is the term habitually used; the *nullity* of his marriage was the point at issue.

England had never yet been ruled by a woman, and some noble claimant might well dispute her title; in any case it would be her husband who would really rule, and whether he were a foreign prince or a native nobleman, external or internal strife seemed inevitable. Nor were there wanting those who ventured to whisper that the death of so many children proved the divine displeasure at the king's uncanonical marriage, and Henry may possibly have felt the same.

When Henry at length became anxious about the prospects of the succession he showed intense suspicion of the few noblemen who could claim royal descent. The Yorkist claimant, the earl of Suffolk (de la Pole), had been executed at the beginning of the reign, and his younger brother was a penniless wanderer on the continent, but a strong case might be made out for the wealthy and splendid duke of Buckingham, direct descendant of Edward III, and son of the duke executed by Richard III. Buckingham was vain, and allowed several persons to know that he cherished hopes of the crown in future, though, clearly, he never contemplated rebellion against Henry. A hard, greedy man, he had made enemies even of his own household, and when he ventured to show his ill-will to the all-powerful minister, Wolsey, an opportunity was seized of stirring up the royal suspicions (1521).

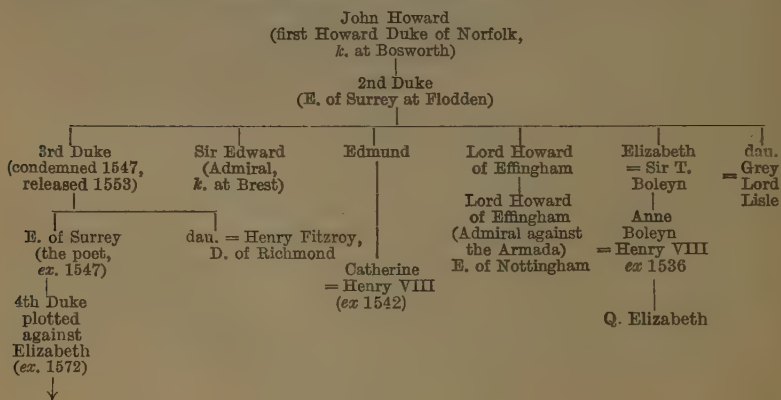
Buckingham was arraigned before his peers, who knew that Henry was convinced of his treason, and though the duke of Norfolk had tears in his eyes as he spoke the verdict, neither he nor the rest of the nobles had the courage to oppose the king. Buckingham was beheaded, and the tragedy was ascribed to the cardinal's vindictiveness. The Emperor's informants told him this. "Then," said Charles V, "a butcher's dog hath pulled down the noblest hart in England."

Henry's anxiety was, doubtless, allayed for the time by the knowledge that no one else would dare even to speak dangerously. But the problem was not solved. He actually began to think of raising his natural son (*b.* 1519) to such eminence that he might in the end be accepted as heir. The boy was created duke of Richmond, High Admiral and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but a brief consideration evidently showed that such a plan was impossible, and Henry's anxiety for an heir and his passion for one of the ladies of the court, Anne Boleyn, together decided him to separate from his wife and make another marriage (1527). All that was necessary was a papal decree. But his long delay had had unfortunate results. It made the blow to Queen Catherine, now elderly and ill, all the more cruel, and Henry's request to the pope, Clement VII, came at the precise moment when he could not, dared not, consent to it. The horrible sack of Rome had placed him a captive in the hands of the Emperor, and as Charles V was now the political opponent of Henry (owing to the treaty between France and England), he forbade Clement VII to pronounce a sentence which would involve dishonour to Catherine and Mary, the Emperor's aunt and cousin. Moreover,

the petition of the English king was couched in a form surprisingly tactless. He desired to repudiate his wife, not on the simple ground of the necessity for a male heir to the throne, but on the ground that, the marriage having been uncanonical, it could never have been a true marriage, and therefore was void. As Pope Julius II had granted the dispensation, this amounted to asking Clement VII to allow that his predecessor had committed an error (an admission popes never made), and to recognise that canonical law was beyond papal alteration, another thing which no pope would ever admit. Finally, the baseness of the motive which seemed principally to move the king, his passion for Anne Boleyn, overshadowed the public grounds for the divorce and roused strong and general indignation.

Wolsey was directed by the king to obtain from the pope the dissolution of the marriage. This was a violent interruption of his political schemes, but if he could succeed he might perhaps hope to ally the courts of England and France by a fresh marriage, and with their help mount the papal throne at the next vacancy. The trickery previously used by Charles V in this matter prevented the great cardinal from entertaining any objection to the dissolution of the king's marriage with Catherine, but, on the other hand, the elevation of Anne Boleyn would be most distasteful to him.

There had long been a party of nobles opposed to the cardinal, of which the chiefs were the Howards and their connections. The Howards, who were really a family very recently ennobled, came, under the Tudors, to be regarded as the most eminent of the aristocracy. This was the effect, less of their talents or character, than of their great connections and wealth. The old, feudal nobility had become almost extinct during the Wars of the Roses; Henry VIII brought to the scaffold the most eminent of the survivors, and the noble houses which in subsequent centuries ranked as old were the creations of the Tudors, so that compared with the ancient Scottish or French nobility the English peers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were almost modern.



The Boleyns, also a Norfolk family, were of far less importance than the Howards, but were attached to their party, and Sir Thomas Boleyn, Anne's father, had married a Howard, and brought his beautiful daughters to court in hopes of rising to higher rank by their influence. He succeeded; Henry was captivated by the fascinating Anne, and in course of time created her father Lord Rochford, earl of Wiltshire and earl of Ormond. The last thing Wolsey could desire would be a niece of the duke of Norfolk as queen of England. Moreover, his new scheme of foreign policy hinged on a French alliance to be sealed by a marriage between Henry and a French princess.

For two years, 1527-9, the question of the king of England's divorce agitated the court and the country and, at times, foreign courts too. Wolsey warned the pope's advisers that there was a danger that, if the king did not get what he wanted, papal and ecclesiastical influence in England might be destroyed and he himself ruined. The mother of the king of France hinted that France and England might possibly discard the papacy and establish their own national churches. But there were many opposing interests and questions involved. The pope heard that Henry was really moved only by his lawless passion for Anne Boleyn. The king might have retorted that the dissolution of a marriage was, to the papal tribunal, a quite usual procedure in parallel cases. More than once had popes readily agreed that a prince should marry a second wife in order to preserve a kingdom from succession quarrels. Louis XII had obtained a separation from his first wife for a purely political reason, that he might marry the heiress of Brittany, while lesser men could often procure by heavy fees similar separations for private reasons. At that very moment Clement himself was granting a divorce to the dowager queen of Scots, who wished to part from her second husband for reasons personal and disgraceful. It was clear that moral scruples did not move the pope's objections. He tried to find some way out of the difficulty, at one moment suggesting that the little duke of Richmond might marry his half-sister Mary, so as to share the throne with her; at another, that the king of England might get the English ecclesiastical courts to pronounce a decree of separation, marry his second wife, and then come to the pope for approval, which he would certainly give. But Henry would have no compromise. He meant to have an indisputably legal marriage with Anne Boleyn. In the meantime, while the ambitious and callous Anne queened it in the court, the unhappy Queen Catherine and her daughter were treated, by the king's orders, with an indignity and cruelty which made his whole case seem black indeed.

Strong indignation was felt in England, among all ranks of honest men and women, the moral feeling of the nation being far stronger than that of king or pope. Catherine could hardly be expected to sacrifice herself, as a queen in Spain had once done,

by retiring into a convent that her husband might marry again for the sake of an heir; but had Catherine been the meekest of women her husband's treatment must have constrained her to resist a divorce at all costs, while Henry's plea that his marriage had never been real, because it was unlawful, cast an odious slur on her and the little Princess Mary.

After a year of negotiation Clement VII sent a special legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to share with Cardinal Wolsey the papal commission to try the king's case (1528). The solemn farce was played with every circumstance of dignity, but at what was supposed to be the close Campeggio, on a technical excuse, adjourned the court for three months, during which time the pope received the indignant appeal of the queen and summoned the whole court to Rome to try the case himself.

It was a transparent artifice for avoiding a decision, and Henry, perceiving that he had so far thoroughly failed, vented his wrath upon Wolsey (1529). Catherine and the Londoners had, most incorrectly, ascribed to Wolsey's intrigues the king's repudiation of his wife, but, whatever might be the case as to this, every class of society rejoiced at the cardinal's fall, and the nobles even more than the mob. "There was never a legate or cardinal that did good in England," burst out Suffolk, Henry's favourite, quoting an old saying. It was alleged that Wolsey had isolated the king from his nobles and his people. Others saw in him the power of the Church personified. When he should be gone, the French ambassador told his king, the English nobles intended to get rid of the Church and to plunder the property of both Church and cardinal: which is good witness to the fact that not Henry VIII alone, but a very large and influential party were looking forward to an organised confiscation of Church property. It is remarkable that several eminent bishops, including Morton, and Wolsey himself, had led the way in transferring monastic property to what they considered a better object—education, and that in a good many cases, during the past hundred years, founders of schools had preferred to confide the care of them to lay, rather than monastic, governing bodies, and had stipulated that the head master should not be a priest.

Wolsey was no medieval bishop, but the child of a transitional and extremely political age. With some of the traits of the old-fashioned prelates—liberality, splendour, patronage of the learned, hard work—he exhibited a callousness, a self-seeking, a dexterity in intrigue and an obsequiousness to the king which were characteristic of the new age. His spitefulness, ostentation and bullying manner perpetually betrayed the man who had risen rapidly from a low degree to great heights. He had set himself to climb to supreme power by means of royal favour, and, like many others, found that the conquest of the means occupied his whole career. He was believed to be all-powerful, yet he more than once professed to be 'unable' to save a friend or client from prosecution in Church

abbots, the idleness of monks, and, above all, the continual grasping of the clergy after money, openly blamed, even in the pulpit, which, in those days, was the recognised platform for both popular and government propaganda. Satirical songs and rude proverbs made the ignorant as familiar with these grievances as the educated. Early in Henry's reign London was flung almost into a state of popular rebellion by the case of a merchant named Hunne who had refused to give a perquisite, claimed by a priest for the burial of his dead infant (1514). The priest sued Hunne, who tried to retort by an action under the old law of *Præmunire*. Thereupon he was accused of heresy and imprisoned in the bishop's palace of Lambeth, and there, a day or two later, he was found hanging dead. The London coroner and jury accused the bishop's chancellor of murder, and the bishop—the same who tried to prosecute Colet—applied to the king to set aside the usual procedure of justice, declaring that it was impossible in all London to find a jury who would be fair to his chancellor, so much infected with heresy were the citizens. The Londoners were furious at such a charge, and in their turn petitioned the king to vindicate their orthodoxy. It was, in fact, the root of their grievances that the clergy treated every criticism of ecclesiastical rule as an attack on the Faith. In brief, the result of a century of unhampered ecclesiastical supremacy was that the whole of London was ready to believe the worst of the churchmen, while they in turn declared that the most intelligent and important city in the kingdom preferred heresy to orthodoxy, without perceiving that such a confession was a condemnation of themselves and their system. The sequel was more remarkable than the incident. Parliament (following up the designs of Henry VII) had passed a temporary Act, as an experiment, depriving men in minor orders of the right to plead *benefit of clergy* in trials for robbery or murder. The Act was just about to be renewed by the Commons (1515) when an abbot preached at Paul's Cross that the Act was against the law of God and the Church. Hereupon a parliamentary deputation complained to the king, who ordered that a public debate should be held before himself and the judges. An eminent Greyfriar, Standish, opposed the abbot, and maintained that the king's judges had rights of justice over criminous clerks and that papal decrees could not set aside the national legal customs of any country. Convocation, which was then sitting, instantly voted the friar a heretic: whereupon the judges declared that all the members of Convocation had broken the statute of *Præmunire*.

But Henry was not yet prepared to lead the revolt of England against the papacy. A fine scene took place, when Wolsey, as cardinal, made on his knees a humble apology for the clergy and in the same breath asked royal permission for them to appeal to the pope (*i. e.* to disregard *Præmunire*). Henry made a royal speech declaring that "kings of England have never had any superior but God alone:" Standish was not punished, appeal to

Rome was not allowed; but parliament was dissolved, the judges were not allowed to try clerical criminals, Wolsey ruled England for fourteen years and called but one short-lived parliament, and Henry during that period showed himself a dutiful son of the pope. Not till Wolsey proved unable to sway papal authority for the royal benefit did the king of England follow on the path which a large and influential part of his subjects had already taken.

In 1529 the Church had held control of religion, education, and half the law-courts of this land for a couple of centuries. Since the fall of Richard II no interference with her power or wealth had been permitted, and if the temper of the whole nation was now suspicious, if men were crying out for reform and openly deriding the superstition or greed of the monks and clergy, it was impossible to lay the blame elsewhere than on the ecclesiastics themselves. Outwardly imposing, their power was resented, despised and even hated by the people, and it depended on the support of the king's courts and officers. If anything should turn the king against the clerical and papal system its ruin was inevitable, and in 1529 the fall of the cardinal was regarded by many as the beginning of that ruin. The final accusation which was brought against him, by the king's command, was the falsest which could have been found; he was arrested for high treason; the accusation, in Henry's reign, was practically a death sentence. Fortunately for himself he died on the way from York to London (1530).

On his disgrace, the remarkable appointment had been made of a layman as Chancellor. Sir Thomas More, who in the parliament of 1523 had identified himself, as Speaker, with the opposition to Wolsey, was in 1529 placed in the position which had hitherto been that of the principal minister, but which, henceforth, became more and more a great legal post. A parliament, the sixth of the reign, was summoned, and the Commons were set to work on a task after their own hearts, to limit the fees which were to be paid to the clergy.

PRÆMUNIRE

The statutes of *Præmunire* (1353, 1365, 1393) aimed at preventing papal intervention in English law-suits. The last empowered the sheriffs to warn (*præmunire*) anyone who procured, brought over, received or carried out papal bulls, excommunications, or other instruments that in one day's time he would be placed outside the law, his entire property confiscated, and himself imprisoned at the royal pleasure. Sheriffs did not act without a royal order. Anyone who 'appealed to Rome' broke this law when he received an answer.

VIII

THE SEPARATION FROM ROME (1529-1539)

(A) THE MINISTERS (1529-1536)

AFTER he had destroyed Wolsey, Henry VIII relied upon four men, especially, to help him to achieve his aims: Sir Thomas More, as Chancellor, was to manage the House of Lords and the Law; Thomas Cromwell, to manage the Commons and carry out the king's personal orders; Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, to manage Convocation and the men of learning; Stephen Gardiner, the royal secretary, to lead and control the business of the Council and diplomacy.

More, a member of a London legal family and an Oxford scholar, had in youth been hailed as the most brilliant and noble-minded of all the leaders of the English Renaissance. His eloquence, Erasmus had said, "is such that he could persuade even an enemy to do whatever he pleased, while my own affection for the man is so great that if he bade me dance a hornpipe I should do at once just as he bade me." But twenty or thirty years had passed since More had been the hope of a brilliant band of scholars, and in the practice of the Law in London and a close acquaintance with the king and the court he had learned that he could reach his ideal only in the pure and beautiful life of his home. After three years of the Chancellorship and the task of carrying through the legal changes in the ecclesiastical courts, he took the unprecedented step of resigning his great office (1532) rather than be an agent of the king's policy, which he perceived was certain to go to lengths of which he could not approve. The reasons of his resignation were well understood, and it was certain that Henry would take revenge. His less scrupulous successor was Audley.

Thomas Cromwell had been Wolsey's confidential man of business, and had managed for him the suppression of the selected monasteries. He was a man of versatile practical ability, experienced as a lawyer and financier, and even as a soldier and diplomatist. He sprang, like Wolsey himself, from the numerous class of small capitalists. Wolsey's father had been a wool merchant of Ipswich, Cromwell's seems to have been a moneylender on a small scale, and owner of a brewery, smithy and dye works in the suburbs beyond Southwark. Cromwell possessed the art of combining with the shrewd and remorseless purpose of his own advancement an appearance of

honesty, and even of disinterestedness, so natural as, at the time of Wolsey's fall, to make the king himself and other less eminent persons feel quite warmly towards the worthy M.P. who was so brave and guileless as to speak up for his late master in the vindictive House, and seemed to be thinking aloud his candid doubts as to the wisdom of hasty steps and an expensive policy. Cromwell's plausible candour, at all events, produced in the House the results which the king really desired, and Henry took this able and conscientious steward into his own service (1531). The king had a great regard for courage and honesty, so long as they were exercised to the royal advantage.

Thomas Cranmer was of a very different type. A Cambridge theologian of great learning and exquisite literary power, modest and conscientious, he was surprised to find that a private discussion with his old friend Gardiner led to an audience of the king and a mission among foreign universities to ask their opinion upon Henry's marriage, in the hope that they would pronounce for its dissolution. His obvious honesty and judicial moderation won him golden opinions; the English king at all events did not suffer in credit through his learned envoy, and both the Pope—who offered him a high office—and the Emperor Charles treated him with more than courtesy. In Germany he had committed himself to at least one Lutheran tenet by marrying, although in Holy Orders, a niece of the distinguished scholar Œsiander, when he received from the king the amazing order to return to England to receive the archbishopric of Canterbury.

The aged Warham had died (1531) and Henry VIII (not unlike Henry II) meant to depapalise the English Church with the help of the new archbishop. Cranmer's enthusiasm for an evangelical reform in the Church, and his veneration for Henry's sacred authority, made him obey, though reluctantly. But as it was most unlikely that a married bishop would be tolerated, the marriage was carefully kept secret, a typical instance of Cranmer's timidity.

Stephen Gardiner, another Cambridge scholar, had been Wolsey's secretary, and was by him trained in diplomacy. On Wolsey's fall Henry appointed him his own secretary, and he worked actively to procure the royal divorce, and received the reward of Wolsey's bishopric of Winchester; but over the abolition of papal authority he skilfully avoided committing himself, until, in 1535, the change was accomplished. Up to that moment Gardiner had kept on good terms with Clement VII, even professing to have changed his opinion on the (then closed) divorce question. But in 1535 he saved himself from Henry's suspicions by writing a treatise against papal authority which at once became a standard Protestant work. Gardiner laid down three principles, (1) that human tradition is inferior to the authority of Scripture, (2) that the Roman pontiff had no power over other Churches, (3) but

that each Christian sovereign had the chief authority in his own territory and was in duty bound to protect religion. The political questions of the day seemed to him, no doubt, the most important.

Gardiner was extremely skilful in conciliating the good opinion of different parties and keeping out of danger himself. "Wily Winchester" became his nickname with Protestant pamphleteers. He was an excellent diplomatist and administrator, a statesman rather than a theologian. After the pope's authority was abolished he was the first to dispute the archbishop's authority in the English Church.

(B) PARLIAMENT AND BISHOPS

The famous Seven Years' Parliament of Henry VIII (1529-1536) opened a new era in more than one respect. It was a striking novelty for a parliament to be retained for year after year. As a rule parliaments sat only for a few weeks and were then dissolved. Sitting in the House of Commons was still an unpopular service, and occasionally a royal command was required to make a town find a member and pay his expenses. But Henry VIII found it convenient to keep together so obedient and sympathetic a House, and the custom became established in his reign of keeping a parliament for more than one year, by means of suspending its sittings, after a few weeks or months, by a *Prorogation*, which might extend over many months. The Houses could be summoned for another session, and again prorogued, when the sovereign chose. Each House could also, at its own wish, *adjourn* for a few days now and then. When all the business was completed it was *dissolved* by the king, who either pronounced its dismissal in person, in the House of Lords, or sent a message, usually by the Chancellor, who still ranked as the highest royal minister, presided over the meetings of the Lords, and was the recognised intermediary between king and parliament.

The acts by which the Seven Years' Parliament accomplished the deliverance of the English Church from papal control were spread over this long period because the king, in the intervals of the sessions, was still trying the conventional means of attaining his end. He would not have broken entirely with the papacy had Clement VII or Paul III yielded, even at the last moment, upon the question of his marriage.

The motives which swayed parliament and clergy in the momentous severance of this kingdom and Church, as a whole, from the papal system, were less crude than those which actuated the king. To him, doubtless, a marriage with Anne Boleyn was the principal point; the increase of his wealth and authority being secondary advantages. But parliament, Convocation, and the able ministers who combined in carrying out the revolution, looked further. It was no simple case of doing right or wrong by the hapless Queen Catherine, though that was the aspect clearest to the populace.

There were, first, those far-reaching reasons which for some two centuries had been steadily gathering force, and which have been already indicated, and, in addition, there were some powerful immediate inducements.

(1) Anxiety about the succession weighed more on the responsible men who would have to face its difficulties than on the selfish king himself; men so different as Wolsey, Gardiner and Cranmer were alike ready to dissolve the marriage with Catherine; moral scruples about the relations between Henry and Anne did not appear to affect deeply the problem itself.

(2) There was no doubt in anybody's mind of the necessary existence of a supreme ecclesiastical authority upon such questions as marriage. If Wolsey had seen no alternative to the accustomed authority of the pope, others—with Gardiner, Cranmer, Tunstall, or Latimer—had no hesitation in reverting to the older authority of the English Church itself, now that the pope's control was, rightly as they considered, about to be abolished. In Germany Luther had to face the same problem, and neither he nor other reformers could allow that Authority itself vanished with the Pope's, or that Heads of the National Churches had less than the chief of Italian bishops. In England the papal authority had superseded that of the archbishops (twelfth to fifteenth centuries) only under continual protest from the Crown (Henry II, Edward I) or from parliament.

(3) From the time of Wyclif, reformers, in England as on the continent, had implored the sovereign to carry out reforms in the Church as a duty. No one doubted that supreme Authority in the State, as in the Church, was a divine institution (else why were kings consecrated?), and that the popes had, during recent centuries, endeavoured to lessen the sacred character of sovereignty was one of the serious counts against them. A denial, therefore, of papal authority tended to increase the reverence felt for royal authority, and extended it into the domain of the Church.

(4) The actual power of the Crown in England was now so strong that the major part of the clergy, in Convocation, and of the laity as represented in parliament, were ready to follow the sovereign's lead, as they had done for over forty years. The clergy knew that the lay courts of law would enforce any royal decree against them; while parliament, intent above all things on avoiding more taxation, expected an ecclesiastical reform to provide the king with a sufficient revenue, to reduce the fees which laymen had to pay, and to weaken the Church courts, which had for ages irritated the lawyers and the laity in general.

(5) Private greed, personal fear, and intrigues to win royal favour or local power found plenty of scope, as in all times of crisis, but these were not the real causes of the liberation of England from Rome.

The result, so far as reached in Henry's reign, was—

(1) That the king, assuming the active exercise of dormant,

vague powers long since attributed to the Crown by tradition, was recognised in the place of the pope as the supreme Authority over the National Church. He had for a long time practically appointed the bishops—since election had for several centuries been little more than a form—he now did so without the convention of a papal confirmation. But he retained the convention of an election of his nominee by the episcopal Chapter. The king would now supervise directly the bishops' plans for national worship and education, their law-courts and their actual rule of their dioceses, as well as the acts of Convocation, and he thus became (what no king in England had ever before been) the supreme arbiter of ecclesiastical law and conduct. He might also receive the taxes hitherto paid by the clergy to the pope.

(2) That parliament attained its object of largely reducing the fees paid to the clergy for the performance of the sacred rites of baptism, marriage, burial, etc., and for the business of the ecclesiastical law-courts, which still dealt with settlements, wills, etc., while the Commons for a few years even believed that they had attained their other object, that of providing the king with an ample revenue and so avoiding taxation.

(3) But this result proved by no means as satisfactory as either king or parliament had expected. The king had to face a double opposition, from those who desired a Protestant doctrinal change, like Luther's, and from those who suffered, either in feelings or in circumstances, from the abolition of so large a part of the religious framework. Parliament found itself forced to take up a heavy burden of legislation, and discovered that the internal national problems were in no way solved by the disappearance of the monasteries.

The actual steps by which the ecclesiastical revolution was accomplished occupied almost exactly ten years, 1529–39, and were followed by the fall of the minister who had achieved it, just as they were preluded by the fall of the most splendid minister of the old régime. The movements of parliament and Convocation were naturally not always harmonious, the latter striving to retain more of the old than the former desired. The mainspring of both was the king, usually acting through Cromwell, sometimes through Cranmer.

In 1529 Parliament (a) fixed the fees to be paid to the clergy at baptism, marriage, burial, etc.; (b) forbade the clergy to hold pluralities (*i. e.* several pieces of preferment) as a general rule, though special permission could be obtained in certain cases; (c) forbade churchmen to trade in the produce of land, flocks, etc. The two former provisions were for the sake of the religious needs of the laity in general, the last was a sweeping blow at the wealth of churchmen, especially of the monasteries, and tended to enrich enormously lay owners and cultivators. Only through lay agents could the monks now dispose of their wool and crops, and many

large estates had to be leased to laymen, who then made profits by raising the rents of subtenants, but paid as little as possible to the monastic owners.

In 1531 the king completed the attack on the ecclesiastics by informing Convocation that the entire body of English clergy, having recognised Wolsey as papal legate, had broken the statute of *Præmunire* and that, therefore, their entire property was forfeit to him. He would, however, pardon them in consideration of a huge fine, if they would recognise him as Head of the English Church, *i. e.* instead of the pope. Warham, a very aged man and long accustomed to submit to royal persuasion, altered the form of words sufficiently to enable him to obtain from the terror-stricken clergy in Convocation an address to the king as "Head of the Church and Clergy so far as the Law of Christ will allow." This is usually called "The Submission of the Clergy." The king was using that legal weapon which had already been suggested by the citizens of London and the bench of judges. Then Warham died and was succeeded by Cranmer.

In 1532 parliament requested the king to reform the episcopal courts (dealing with marriage, probate, patronage suits, criminous clergy, morals, etc.) and to reduce fees; also, that Convocation should no longer make laws binding upon the clergy. As this became, with royal consent, the law, it actually prevented Convocation from conducting that spiritual and practical reformation which, with Cranmer as archbishop, they were now ready to undertake, twenty years too late. The excuse was that the clergy should be on an equality with other subjects before the Law, but another reason was the desire to render the Church helpless before its spoliation.

At the request of the clergy a bill was brought in to abolish *Annates*—the first year's revenue of every benefice—hitherto paid to the pope. The Commons, however, moved to transfer them to the king. This was a heavy blow at the papal income, a large increase of the king's, and no benefit to the clergy. At this point Henry wanted to obtain the papal sanction of Cranmer as archbishop and intimated that if it was given he would not have the *Annates* Bill passed, otherwise it should become law. The pope recognised Cranmer, but Henry merely put off the Bill for a year. Sir Thomas More now resigned the Chancellorship.

In 1533 Henry, through Cromwell, caused parliament to declare it to be henceforth illegal to appeal from the decision of an English ecclesiastical law-court to the papal court at Rome, on the ground that the king was the Supreme Head of the Church, and of its law. The Commons were, for once, unwilling to take this course, because they dreaded lest the pope should procure retaliation through the Emperor, who, as sovereign in Flanders, might penalise England by closing the wool trade, but the king threatened them into compliance.

At the beginning of the same year Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn, and then had the case of his marriages formally laid before Archbishop Cranmer and his ecclesiastical court. Cranmer decreed that the marriage with Catherine had never been valid and that consequently the marriage with Anne was valid.

Parliament, therefore (1534), passed (1) the *Succession Act*, to recognise as the successors to the throne only the children of Henry and Anne, Mary being excluded. To this a detailed oath of obedience was added which everyone in office must take.

(2) An Act to abolish all authority of the pope in England.

(3) A further Act to declare the king Supreme Head of the Church in England, and impose another oath (November 1534).

(4) A Treason Act, which made even words spoken against the king or queen to be accounted as treason and entail its dreadful penalties.

(5) Acts of Attainder against More and Fisher, accounting it treasonable to decline to swear the complicated oaths of succession and supremacy.

Convocation co-operated with parliament in declaring that the bishop of Rome had no more authority in this country than any other foreign bishop. But when Henry, next year, had proclamation made of his new title and powers, he named Thomas Cromwell his Vicar-General over the Church and delegated to him his supreme royal authority. This made Cromwell a higher authority than the archbishop and placed arbitrary power in his hands. Experience of this harsh layman's conduct of ecclesiastical affairs very soon made him as unpopular as ever Wolsey had been, and convinced many who had rejoiced at the first changes, that no religious reform, but mere secularising of Church property was intended, or perhaps even a destruction of religion itself at the hands of irreligious laymen.

The steps by which Cromwell, with the consent and help of parliament, abolished the whole of the monasteries and transferred their property to a royal financial department, took three years: with such violent haste was a system destroyed which was older than the English kingdom itself, and was entwined with all the social customs of the people. It is no wonder that gross injustice, ruin and waste were perpetrated, and that the social system of the nation long suffered from the stupidity which wrought a necessary change by vile means.

In the meantime parliament steadily continued its programme of reducing the clergy from the position of a privileged body to a status similar to that of other subjects by forbidding (1536) the plea of *privilege of clergy*, the plea which had exempted them from ordinary law-courts ('the common law,' or 'the King's Courts'), and transferred them to the episcopal courts. This Act ended the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts except for (a) ecclesiastical causes which were not (at that time) offences against the

common law, such as—(a) cases of morality; (b) cases of clerical discipline and behaviour; or (c) cases about wills, legitimacy and marriage. Convocation meanwhile tried to secure a recognised standard of creed and ritual which the clergy should be required to accept as orthodox and should preach and teach. This was embodied in the summary drawn up by Convocation called the *Ten Articles* (1536), but Henry three years later caused a parliamentary enactment to be made of the standard of creed and ritual enjoined by himself and recognised by the legislature as the belief of England. This is the famous *Act of Six Articles* (1539). These were the earliest *formularies*, or definitions, of a national religious code.

(C) THE BISHOPS AND RELIGION

It would be extremely unjust to ascribe the apparent changeableness of Cranmer, Gardiner and other bishops and learned men to mere timidity or self-interest. They could not foresee the ultimate course of events which we now look back upon, and they had to steer the course of the Church through a crisis which never involved one question alone, but such a variety of questions, and amid such dangers of disorder and violence, that the pilots of both Church and State felt much more to be at stake than their own personal feelings and consistency. They tried, and with success, to maintain the continuity of the Church in creed and sacraments, and to separate this from the legal and other authority of the papal system.

If there was one principle which Cranmer and Cromwell, Latimer and Gardiner, Fisher and Ridley, More and Tyndale, would have agreed upon, it was the principle that the nation—the Church and the State—was of infinitely greater importance than any individual. The intellectual influence of the “Renaissance” had, doubtless, stimulated the activity of the individual, as distinct from family or class, but at the same time a stronger instinct of nationality was growing. The unity of the Church, disregarding the State, was the principle for which those who died for papal supremacy gave their lives. The unity of the national State, and the oneness of the national Church with the State, was the principle taken for granted by those who saw in the pope an Italian bishop manipulated by the king of Spain. The contrast in the condition of England during the half-century before Bosworth and the half-century after, left to Englishmen no doubts about the proper place of kingship. Their king was the centre and the chief of the State (or nation). As in Saxon or Plantagenet times, men took for granted, as an obvious fact, that the king’s authority was and must be the one authority. When, then, this revered authority commanded something which a subject felt to be wrong for himself, or forbade some belief which he could not but hold, a man who had been placed in authority by the sovereign had to choose between obeying, standing aside, or

resisting. Few were sure that duty called them to self-assertion against the royal and national decision, nor did the public conscience sympathise with such personal self-assertion. More tried to stand aside, but was not allowed; Latimer and Gardiner (in opposite circumstances) stood aside and were allowed to do so; Barnes preferred to suffer martyrdom rather than seem to submit; Warham and Cranmer gave way to the king's arguments. Tyndale, forbidden to print his English Bible, fled abroad and sacrificed himself to the accomplishment of the task which he held to be a higher duty than obedience, and when he met his death, at the hands of the Emperor Charles' spies, breathed as his last prayer: "Lord, open the king of England's eyes."

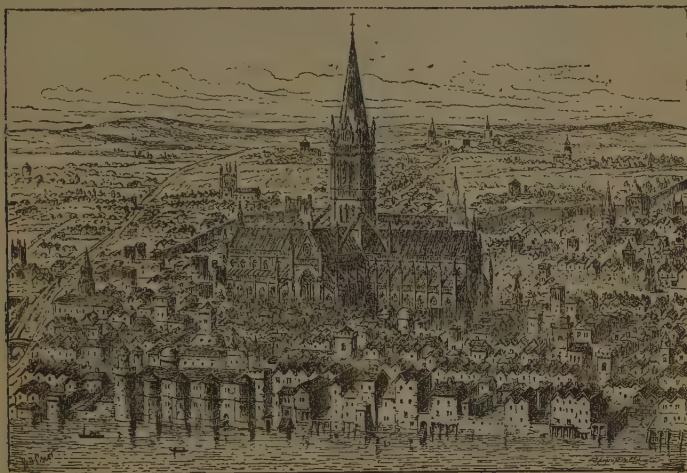
Cranmer is one of a list of learned and excellent bishops—Tunstall, Latimer, Gardiner, Heath, Ridley—who watched joyfully Henry's early steps towards assuring the independence of the Church from Rome and its disentanglement from secular business. Their zeal was disinterested, for the very reforms which they promoted decreased their own wealth and power, and almost destroyed the splendid official and social position which the English bishops had hitherto enjoyed. Alone among Henry's helpers, the leaders of the Church pass the test of honesty; for their principles they gladly sacrificed the wealth at which nobles and gentry were grasping, and in the diverse changes of royal policy most of them, under one or another sovereign, endured persecution and some, death.

(D) THE BIBLE

It was at the hands of Archbishop Cranmer, supported by Cromwell, and helped, as to the supervision of translations, by Gardiner and other learned men, that the public and general use of the Bible in English was established. There had always been translations; and in spite of the cost and slowness of writing out by hand, there had been plenty of copies, if not of the complete Scriptures, yet of very large parts of it. Nearly all the narrative parts of the Old Testament and much of the New Testament, for instance, were included in the popular collection called *The Golden Legend*, of which Caxton printed a translation; and *The Golden Legend* anybody might buy. The reason why the authorities of the Church had so often banned a more exact translation (such as the Wyclifite versions and Tyndale's) was, partly because the translation of certain Greek words into modern terms, even though accurate, implied a denial of some settled doctrine or custom of the Church, and partly because those versions were often accompanied by *Prefaces* which were highly controversial. The popular versions (as in *The Golden Legend*) had been made from the Vulgate or medieval Latin version, and were quite conventional and "safe." But Reuchlin, Melancthon and Erasmus, by publishing Hebrew and Greek texts, had raised the standard of accuracy, and in

translating from an original more complete and pure than the Vulgate, Tyndale had used *e. g.* the words *elder*, or *congregation*, where the Latin gave *priest* and *church*. Henry VIII, ever more ferociously orthodox as he became a persecutor of the supporters of papal supremacy, vetoed Tyndale's Bible.

Coverdale next produced a version, which was sanctioned in 1536. It was not a very good translation, and Cranmer appointed a committee to revise it, but afterwards gave his approval to a fine translation (often called Rogers' or Matthews') which was actually Tyndale's with a few corrections. For this Bible Cromwell obtained Henry's sanction, and a copy was ordered to be placed



ST. PAUL'S.

View of St. Paul's, south side, in 1540.

beside the Latin Bible in every church, where people were permitted to read it themselves, privately. Finally, in 1540 a more carefully revised edition, the "Great Bible," was ordered to be placed in the churches, and from this English Bible the Gospel was to be read. Probably all the versions of Tyndale, Coverdale and Rogers were in use privately, after 1536. Thus the greatest principle of the early reformers was established: the pure, complete Bible was opened to all, and Tyndale's noble hope was at last fulfilled. When, in early life, he was hindered by a controversial schoolman, he had exclaimed, "An if God spare my life I will cause the boy that followeth the plough to know more of the scripture than thou dost." This gift could never be withdrawn nor its effect undone. Henceforth the characteristic work of English reformers was to be their knowledge and interpretation of the Scripture,

and a profound imprint was made, during many generations, upon character, and upon our national literature, by the close acquaintance of men and women in all ranks of life with the noblest of all modern renderings of the ancient Bible.

In the same year which saw Coverdale's Bible (1536), Cranmer and the bishops had drawn up, with Henry's sanction, a brief outline, or Articles, of the Christian belief enjoined upon Englishmen: THE TEN ARTICLES, with a fuller explanatory book, *The Institution of a Christian Man* (called *The Bishops' Book*). Three of the sacraments were emphasised as especially important, and the belief that masses could release souls from purgatory was condemned as superstitious, although charitable prayer for the dead was enjoined. Such alterations as Convocation made in the services were chiefly intended to make it easier for the congregation to join in or to follow the ritual, certain portions being rendered in English.

IX

THE END OF MONASTERIES AND THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE (1536-1540)

(A) THE SUPPRESSION

WHILE the bishops were earnestly at work visiting, preaching and organising, and long before their efforts could have any result, Henry and Cromwell accomplished a wholesale destruction. As Vicar-General, Cromwell worked out a system which made the Royal Supremacy more of a personal despotism than England had ever known. Parliament, by the Succession, Supremacy and Treason Acts of 1534, and the detailed Oath which everyone was to take, had confused together obedience to the law, submission to the king, and a statement of personal conviction. This oath stated that Catherine's marriage had been wrong and papal authority insufficient to permit it. Though the rest of the Peers and Commons all took the oath, two of the most eminent men in England refused. The aged Bishop Fisher, for two generations a promoter of religion and learning, and Sir Thomas More, declared that, while they would readily vow obedience to the Succession as now settled, they could not in honesty swear their belief in the truth of the detailed statements made in the Act. So also said the members of the most revered religious House in London, the Charterhouse.

Henry VIII was no whit better than other persecutors before or after him: he must dictate the thoughts and convictions of his subjects, and those who claimed any moral freedom must die. The victims went heroically to execution (1535)—which, in the case of the Carthusian friars, was made as cruel as possible—under the complacent gaze of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk (Howard and Brandon), who were posing as leaders of the attack on the papal Church system. The king had shortly before convened a meeting of aldermen and other notables of the City, and had warned them that he would not permit the expression of sentiments contrary to his will in the question of his marriage. There was, he told them, "never so noble a head in the kingdom but he would make it fly."

It seemed in the capital as if a merciless severity to a few brave men might suffice to suppress an opposition which was offered only by a minority. The cities had always been the cradles of Lollardy, and many men in the midlands and the south were awaiting, with Latimer and other advanced reformers, a progress towards a Lutheran doctrine and a secularisation of Church

property. Cromwell informed parliament that the defence of the realm, and the need for more bishoprics and for teachers in the universities, required a transference of monastic property to the Crown, and parliament, seeing in this an ample provision for national finance, consented gladly. It was little more than the Commons had advocated several times since Wyclif.

Cromwell had arranged his plans beforehand. He sent forth a body of commissioners who, in a kind of parody of Bishops' Visitations (*i. e.* Inspections), made a rapid survey of the condition of the monastic houses, county by county. Not content with a veracious finding of wastefulness or bankruptcy here and there, of modifications of the ancient Rule everywhere, or of superstition as to relics, with, here and there, neglect, disorder, or bad morals; the commissioners drew up such sweeping charges of immorality and scandal as make it certain that, in their haste and with their knowledge of Cromwell's intentions, they accepted every accusation as proved fact and put the worst construction upon hearsay or frivolous complaints. At the same time, the reports of earlier and honest visitations (by Archbishop Morton and others) forbid the conclusion that the report was totally false.

Cromwell aimed at getting as many as possible of the monastic houses into the royal hands by an apparently voluntary process. He treated the abbots and priors as if they were owners of their convents, which was neither just nor legal, and offered a pension or a post as compensation. They were threatened, imprisoned and otherwise bullied, till in despair many "resigned into the king's hands" their houses. One very effective weapon was a command to observe the strict letter of the monastic rule. Many points in the original rules had for centuries been treated as obsolete, or had been modified by ecclesiastical order, and suddenly to have to adopt the food, clothing and customs of four or five centuries ago, proved a trial which reduced many communities to obedience.

The process was completed by Act of parliament. In 1536 the smaller houses (those which were endowed with less than £200 a year) were declared to be dissolved and their property transferred to the king. The monks and nuns were sent to live in the larger abbeys, where there was, indeed, ample room for them. But this provided very little money for the royal coffers, and though the rest of the abbeys were not dissolved till 1539, it was certain that they would be so dealt with. A financial committee, called the *Court of Augmentations*, was established to deal with monastic property. After 1539 few besides the obedient abbots and priors received (as a rule) any provision for maintenance, the rest were merely provided with suits of lay clothing and turned out, monks or nuns, to the pity of the charitable or to neglect and starvation.

Even before the dissolution was actually ordered, Cromwell was besieged with requests for grants of monastery lands. Except among the poor, who could not make their voices heard, there did not seem

at first to be much discontent at the change. Only two members of the Commons (those for Lynn and Coventry) ventured to protest. Those who hoped to share in the spoils and those who fancied there would be no more taxes were alike compliant, others perhaps expected a better provision for the parish churches. It must be remembered that almost every vicarage in England still testifies to the earlier annexation by some monastic house of lands anciently given for the support of the parish church, and that the poorer clergy had little love for their monastic Rectors. A great part, therefore, of the funds which the monks spent on magnificent buildings, some support of students, and lavish doles to the poor, ought to have been restored to parochial and diocesan purposes, and possibly people vaguely supposed that this would be done. As to the condition of the monasteries, there was certainly no ground for Cromwell's arbitrary distinction between small and great. The former were actually more popular than the latter, as being more helpful to the poor of the locality. It was no more possible to make a truthful general statement about 'all monasteries' than than it would be now to make one about 'all companies.'

Above all, the monastic houses in the northern half of England occupied a position very different from that of those in the south and midlands. The north of England, for various reasons, one being the incessant Scottish wars, was some two centuries behind the south in the march of wealth and politics. The social system had remained much as it had been in the fourteenth century. Life was simpler, still mainly concerned with agriculture, fishing, and mining; the Scottish wars had maintained feudal ties of the better kind, men were free and prized liberty, local feeling was strong, and superstitions as to pilgrimage and relics seem to have been less gross than in the south. The monasteries, too, especially the great Cistercian houses of Yorkshire and Lancashire, had retained much of their early hold upon the respect of the population. In many districts the monks, if they had not erected vicarages themselves, attended to the religious needs of the population. They filled a large place in the social system: not only were they the support of the poor and of decayed gentlefolk, but they maintained the sea walls and dykes, the fen-drains, roads and bridges, and were always hospitable to the farmers and travellers of the stormy moorlands. If these houses were to be abolished, religion would be cruelly injured and daily life lose a principal source of help and comfort.

(B) THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE

When, then, in Lincolnshire—which socially and geographically (north of the fens) belonged to the north—the news spread that three sets of Cromwell's agents were invading the county simultaneously, indignation reached explosion point. One set of commissioners was inquiring into the ritual now observed by the

clergy; another was turning monks and nuns out of their ancient homes, packing bells, plate, ornaments and vestments and the lead from the roofs on to carts, to take to London; while a third set had nothing to do with the Church, but was collecting a subsidy, or income-tax (of 6*d.* in the pound), voted two years previously, proof positive that the plunder of the Church did not mean abolition of taxation. It was rumoured that parish churches would be destroyed next and the souls of poor people endangered to enrich Cromwell and such men as Audley and Rich, his colleagues.

An almost universal rising of the people began, which the gentry did not sympathise with, but dared not resist. It was not, however, directed against the king. The old-fashioned belief in the natural goodness and sacred character of the sovereign had had time, since Bosworth, to re-assert itself, and Henry VIII reaped the harvest of loyalty which might fitly have been his father's. The Lincolnshire insurgents petitioned the king to dismiss his low-born and heretical advisers (Cromwell and Cranmer), and to restore the good old customs, religious and secular. But it was not difficult to control insurgents isolated by the Humber, the Trent and the fens. Henry sent an uncompromising rebuke, and the duke of Suffolk, advancing from Stamford with a large body of troops and artillery, had the rebels at his mercy. The ringleaders, less than fifty, were hanged, the rest submitted.

The Lincolnshire rising was important because it fired the more threatening rebellion of the northern counties known as THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE. As soon as the news from Lincoln reached Beverley, early in October 1536, that town, seething with indignation at the abolition of St. John of Beverley's shrine, his feast and his pilgrimage, rose in arms, and with it the neighbouring districts. The whole of Yorkshire, warned by beacons and church bells, instantly joined in the movement. This was not a rising of yeomen and peasants alone. Representatives of the famous houses of Percy and Neville, Scrope and Darcy, of such leading gentry as the Fairfaxes and Constables, with almost all the squires, came at the head of their kindred and tenants. Abbots, priors and parish clergy bore the banners in front of their parishioners. The armed levies of every Yorkshire wapentake turned out in orderly ranks under their proper constables, as they would before a Scottish invasion. From the Bishopric (Durham) came a body of troops under the standard of St. Cuthbert. In Lancashire the beacon of Whalley Abbey was fired, despite the prudent abbot's refusal, and soon, from the Ribble to the Scottish border, recruits were mustering for the holy cause. Scarborough, Skipton and Carlisle alone held out against the invitation or the menace of their neighbours in arms. There was no plundering or disorder, never had crusaders shown so true a sense of their righteous purpose. Their banner and badges of the Five Wounds of Christ indicated their main intention, which was to restore the

worship and old religious custom in which they had been nurtured, and therewith the accustomed social conditions. Cromwell and his agents were to be dismissed and punished; heretical books, old and new, destroyed; monastery lands should be rescued from the new, extortionate landlords and given back to the Church.

The brain of the movement was Robert Aske, a lawyer of well-known family, prudent, eloquent and patriotic. He was accepted as general, and under him the Yorkshire and Durham army marched, in detachments, along the great South Road, till, as they approached the key position of Doncaster, they discovered that the duke of Norfolk with royalist troops held the further bank of the Don. In like manner the earl of Shrewsbury barred the Trent at Nottingham and the earl of Derby held the Mersey and South Lancashire, lest the north-western insurgents should make a parallel march.

Norfolk had some 8000 men, a large force for those times but perhaps a quarter of the Pilgrims' forces, and his men were hardly in a temper to withstand an onset from crusaders. But Aske, with more charitable hopefulness than soldierly instinct, hoped to avoid bloodshed and listened to Norfolk's diplomatic offers. The Pilgrims' petition was to be taken to the king by Norfolk and Shrewsbury themselves, if Aske's men would go home to await the royal answer.

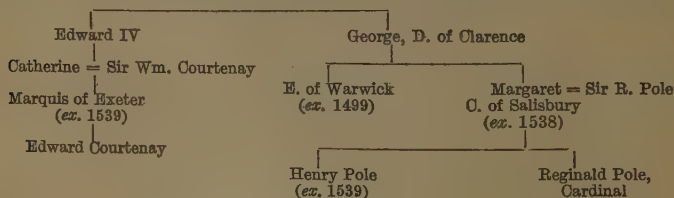
Henry prepared an uncompromising reply and ordered Norfolk to use severity, but when, towards Christmas, the duke advanced again to Doncaster, he found the Northern men still united and resolute, and therefore proclaimed, in the king's name, a free pardon to the insurgents and promised a parliament at York. So loyal were the people that they dispersed rejoicing and Aske obeyed the king's summons to come to London to explain the petitions of the North. But it was not possible for the mere word of Norfolk to delude the Yorkshiremen for long, when it was discovered that nothing had been changed in London and that the king was despatching ships and munitions to the North. The natural result was a small armed outbreak, in January 1537, at Scarborough and Beverley, which Aske and other leaders succeeded in calming. But Henry, now ready for vengeance, seized on these tumults as excuses for repudiating his own and Norfolk's pledges, and the hopes of the Northern men were quenched in blood. The net result of the Pilgrimage of Grace was, first of all, wholesale executions in almost every town and village from York to Carlisle, then, the total suppression of monastic houses and the firmer establishment of the new, lay, landlords in their place; finally, the erection of a fresh machine of practical government, the COUNCIL OF THE NORTH, by which, for the next century, the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, and the bishopric, were administered. Tunstall, now bishop of Durham, was its President, the other members were drawn from the ranks

of the gentry. Lancashire was still administered as a royal Duchy.

The king was entirely triumphant. In 1537 the birth of Prince Edward was celebrated by splendid rejoicings. The next year the last direct representative of the Plantagenets,¹ the aged countess of Salisbury, was sent to the scaffold, where already had fallen the heads of her eldest son and of the marquis of Exeter, grandson of Edward IV. These executions were the royal reply to a book written against the king by Reginald Pole, from the safe refuge of Italy, where the pope made him a cardinal.

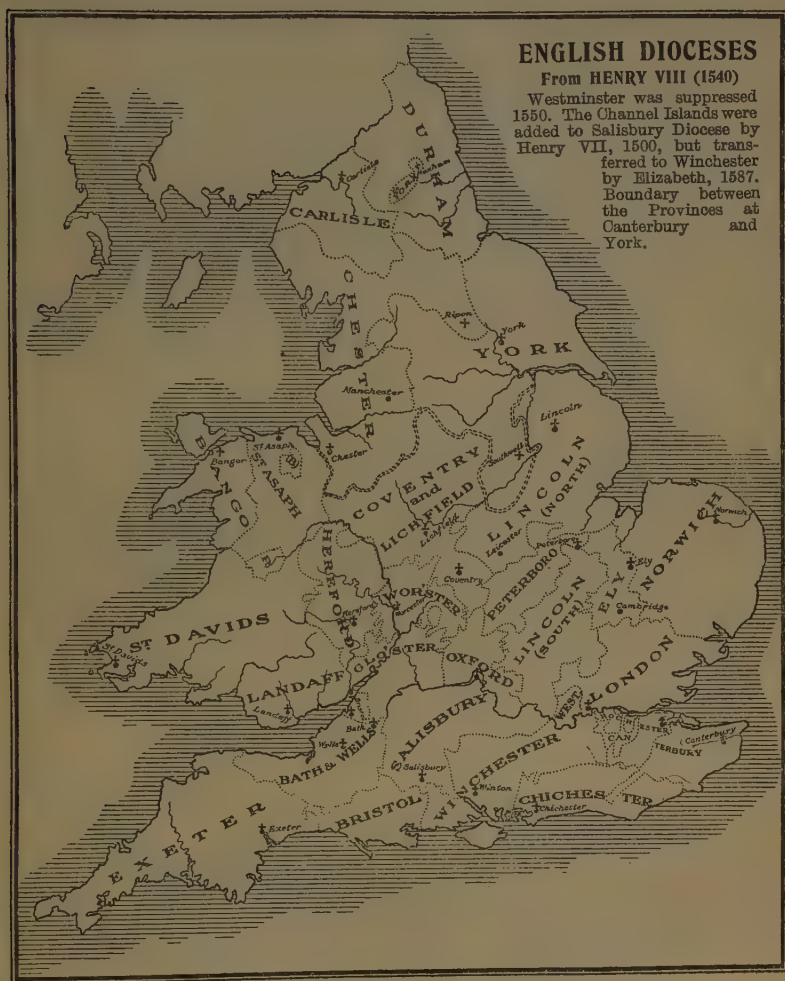
What touched the population more nearly than the execution of a few more of the nobility was the extension of confiscations. In 1538 a proclamation declared that reputed relics were superstitious, their shrines were to be seized for the king's use and superstitious images were to be destroyed. A host of government agents now carried destruction into every monastic building and every cathedral, minster or parish church which could boast of sacred relics. The more valuable portable property was carried to the treasury, the famous shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury furnishing two heavy waggon-loads of gold and jewels. Scarcely had the monks been dismissed from their noble buildings before the iron and lead of roofs, pipes, locks, etc., the bells, timber, tiles, columns, furniture, and everything which would fetch money, were put up for sale. Not the domestic buildings alone, but the splendid churches which formed the central part of every abbey, and the churches reared by the friars in the towns, were included in the confiscation. Scant attention was given to the petitions which poured in from populous places begging that particular churches should be spared, unless the petitioners were able to offer a considerable sum of money to purchase them. Even less respect was shown for history or beauty. Painted windows, tombstones and carvings were abandoned to the brutal lust of destruction by which, in any great mass of people, some are always actuated. Gardens were ravaged and libraries destroyed by fanatics. One tradesman bought up "2 noble libraries for 40 shillings," and for ten years used them for wrapping up parcels. "Henry had the nation at his back; he had with him the needy and the greedy, and the rich and the noisy."²

The monastic lands, including those of the widely extended lay order of the Knights Hospitallers, or Order of St. John (dissolved



² Dixon.

1540), were for the most part not retained as royal property, but sold, or occasionally given, to Crown agents, courtiers or local gentlemen. It is true that certain regular charges upon the



ENGLISH DIOCESES FROM HENRY VIII, 1540.

dissolved houses—such as payments to a school, or to individual pensioners, and to the vicars who served those parish churches the endowments whereof had been alienated to the monks in past time—were investigated and provided for, though the pensions

which the Crown awarded to the expelled monks seem to have been paid or not according to the influence which they could exert in the right quarter.

Out of the spoils, the king established six new bishoprics—he had promised thirteen—Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough and Westminster, for each of which the abbey church was spared to become a cathedral. In other sees when monks were expelled from abbeys which had, in Saxon or Norman times, annexed the cathedrals, secular canons now replaced them, and the cathedral grammar schools continued with little alteration.

In the universities, some new *Regius* professorships and other endowments were erected, but the royal visitors ordained a sweeping destruction of manuscripts, apparently assuming that useful works were in print and that anything they themselves did not appreciate should be destroyed. The new endowments probably hardly balanced the loss of the steady flow of scholars whom the abbeys during the past century had maintained. At all events, the violent shock administered to the system and methods of the two universities had a bad effect, for both sank to a level far below that reached in 1520.

The grammar schools, however, suffered less. Henry's reign is even more remarkable than his father's for the number of grammar schools founded by private benefactors, and especially in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where they were most needed. On the confiscation of the religious houses care was exercised to preserve or re-found nearly all the grammar schools (practically, secondary schools) which had been in any way attached to them, and several new ones were founded also. Only the "song-schools" of the abbeys disappeared, the schools, that is, which trained choir-boys for the right performance of the abbey services. That elementary education suffered was not the doing of Henry VIII or Cromwell, but that of the regents for his son.

With regard to *Chantryes*, what happened after 1536 was, that sundry lay patrons of chantries which had been endowed by their own families, often quite recently, perceiving secularisation to be inevitable, could not see why they should wait for their modest endowments,—perhaps a few acres of cornland, a paddock or a country mill,—to be seized by the king, but quietly resumed the grants themselves. This was profoundly displeasing to both king and Commons. The war with France and Scotland which began in 1542 involved heavy expense, and members were dismayed to learn that the plunder of the Church had already vanished. A heavy subsidy was granted, moneys taken as a "loan" were declared not to be repayable (*i. e.* were confiscated), and an act known as the *Chantryes Act* (1545) declared all colleges, chantries and free chapels, all hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, gilds and stipendiary priests enjoying a permanent endowment to be "at the king's pleasure." The excuse assigned for this amazing act of

confiscation was, that greedy persons were taking the chantries themselves; the principle alleged was the "superstitious" nature of endowments for prayers for the dead. Henry had already (1536) drawn a distinction between *charitable* prayers for departed souls, made voluntarily, and those paid for by endowment, and the Chantries Act was intended to give royal commissioners scope to seize, for national and royal purposes, all funds applied to this purpose. As, for centuries, nearly every endowed institution, small or great, had annexed to it the duty of "praying for the soul of the founder," as well as that of tending the sick, teaching a school, caring for alms-people, and the like, it was possible to bring all these institutions under the term "superstitious." *Chapels* were daughter-churches without parishes attached to them: *Chantries* were endowments for one or more priests, whether in a parish church or attached to a special chapel, who were to pray for the founder's soul, and, usually, to assist the incumbent of the parish, or to keep an elementary school for the boys of the place. Gilds and other such fraternities were really mutual benefit societies, whose yearly meetings and feasts always included a religious service accompanied by a commemoration of departed members. The endowments of all these were certainly small, but their activities were of great local utility. *College* was a term which covered almost every endowed religious body other than those of monks and friars, including the ancient cathedral chapters and minsters and many great parish churches.

But the crime of sweeping these away is perhaps incorrectly imputed to Henry VIII himself, whose general intentions are not known. Cromwell, who had organised the conversion of monastic property before 1540, was dead, and Henry's later ministers (1540-1547) were men far inferior in ability and honesty. Before any scheme was made out, the despotic king himself was dead, leaving the vast possibilities of the *Chantries Act* to be exploited by the shameless gang of robbers who ruled in his son's name.

The net result of the confiscations of Henry VIII from 1536 to 1547, was, therefore, (a) some better provision for the episcopal system; (b) a considerable advance in secondary school education, but a grave damage to elementary education; and (c) the transfer of the largest part of the land endowments to the nobility and gentry; a result assuredly not intended by the king.

Under Henry VIII most of the peers (Norfolk, Suffolk, Derby, etc.), and other old families, such as Clinton, Devereux, Manners, had their share; after his death others seized on what remained. Thus a number of families which showed zeal for the new methods founded great fortunes: Seymour, Russell, Cavendish, Dudley, Sidney, Paget, Rich, Fitzwilliam, Wriothesley, Raleigh, are but a few of the best known.

The new owners made it their business to obtain as much profit as possible. Rents were raised and comfortable old customs

ignored. Prices had been rising in England for some time, owing to causes such as the increased supply of gold and silver in Europe, which few people could understand and none influence, and the new, ambitious families, accustomed to a lavish king and court, expected to have plenty of money and were adopting a new standard in housing, dress and comfort. Some could now annex an abbot's lodge for a home, others began to build with the fine materials which the confiscated buildings provided. To this day many a country house, by its title of *abbey*, *priory* or *grange*, testifies to ancient monastic ownership.

When a purchaser got a royal grant of any conventual property, he acquired, as a rule, both the rights and duties which had belonged to it. The new lay owner became the rector of this or that parish church, which had been bestowed on the monastery. He then exacted the tithes and presented the vicar who was to serve the church. But he was apt to neglect altogether his rectorial duty to help to repair the fabric, and he paid the vicar no more than he could help, though the fifteenth-century stipends were already meagre, in view of raised prices, and the fees which had once supplemented the stipend had been by statute reduced. In the same way, where a schoolmaster had formerly been paid by an abbot, the new owner, or his heirs, or the Crown office on which the payment was charged, continued to pay only the previous salary, usually from £2 to £6, and in time the lay owner's heirs too often contrived to drop the payment altogether and so extinguished the school.

If the shock of the Dissolution to reverence and religious feeling was terrible, the waste of beauty was as great, and a heavy blow was dealt at justice, at charitable kindness and at social order. Builders, carvers, painters, bell-founders, metal-workers and embroiderers found themselves without a market or prospects; they could no longer train pupils, and the arts for which England had been famous, and which had placed in every town many instances of lovely handiwork, and in every village at least one, died out, while music, too, was maimed. Musical instruments and bells, and even singing in church, might, like written manuscripts, be suspected as "superstitious."

Henry was indignant on finding, as early as 1538, that havoc done by royal order before the eyes of the populace was often followed by outbursts of profanity under the pretence of zeal. Any ignorant fellow dared to interrupt the service with abuse of "superstition," and the loudest shouter and most wanton iconoclast claimed to be moved by a zeal to "purify" religion. To check such disorder and profanity, as well as to discourage sympathy with the doctrines of German Lutherans and Swiss or French Calvinists, Henry obtained from parliament two more Acts (1539), THE ACT OF SIX ARTICLES, and one giving to his own proclamations on religion, under certain conditions, the force

of law, in order to provide for the practical exercise of the Royal Supremacy without incessant recourse to parliament.¹

The Act of Six Articles was intended to stop controversy upon doctrine until the king should pronounce a decision. It asserted plainly the doctrine of transubstantiation, declared that in the Eucharist the cup was not necessary for the laity, forbade priests to marry, and ordered confession to be made to them. No one was to teach otherwise; the penalties were death and confiscation. "A whip with six strings," gasped the discomfited Protestants. The immediate result was almost absurd. Everyone in London who cherished a grudge flew to accuse his enemy of heresy, and within a fortnight 500 persons were waiting to be tried. The king had no intention of filling London with bonfires, and the victims were quietly released, though during the next few years a cruel execution occasionally vindicated the king's orthodoxy and warned the extremists to keep quiet or to emigrate to the continent. The Act was a dreadful threat, which for the rest of the reign sufficed to drive the nation along Henry's road, that is, to continue the observance of the creed, discipline and ritual hitherto customary in the Church, with the one sweeping practical difference made by substituting the king for the pope. This the nation on the whole, though with the huge exception of the North, accepted without showing serious reluctance. It left the responsibility to the sovereign and the bishops, and found little to murmur at in the daily service and conduct of the parochial clergy, until at the close of his reign Henry re-opened an agitation which led to further revolutionary proceedings after his death. The sequel to the Chantries Act, already described, was worked out, it is true, by the men he left in the Council, but it was his own greed which brought about the conditions he least desired, the stirring up of general civil strife to be fought out during his son's minority.

¹ Henry's proclamations made in Council were to have the force of law, *provided that* they did not touch any man's life, liberty or property, or conflict with any law of the realm, *except in* cases of heresy; *i. e.* the orders of the king in Council about creed and ritual must be obeyed on pain of punishment. This Act is often quite incorrectly stated to have made the king independent of parliament.

X

ENGLAND AND EUROPE (III) (1529-1547)

Sovereigns: Charles V in the Empire, Spain, the Netherlands, Sicily and Naples: in France, François I (1515-47), Henri II (1547-59)

THE sixteenth century beheld a transformation in international relations. The discovery of the two Americas and of the Pacific Ocean and the exploration of the edges of Africa, Russia and Asia, vastly extended the range of ambition and adventure, while at home in Western Europe the new conditions created by the ferment of thought produced crises which convulsed all the nations.

By the middle of Henry's reign it had become evident that the general determination to reform the Church and the solid resistance of Rome to any reform constituted a problem which must affect international relations. By the middle of the century it was clear that the strife between reform and Rome would be a principal question deciding those relations, though not the sole question, and that the states of Western Europe were re-arranging themselves upon a fresh system.

This question of reform was involved with others, both within each separate country and upon the field of European politics. If the system of Rome were to continue to dominate the Christian Church and the sphere of thought, her champion and sovereign authority, in this sixteenth century, is early seen to be, not the ever-changing pope, but the head of the House of Hapsburg. Firmly rooted in Spain, the Low Countries and Italy, as well as in Germany, and provided with additional revenue from the fabulous stores of the West Indies and the Pacific, this despotic family, as determined as it was unscrupulous, controlled the most powerful resources the world had known since ancient times.

For the English, it was their predominance in Spanish harbours, in the Low Countries, and upon the ocean roads which gradually became a menace, and hence the mighty and threatening power was, and is, usually named by us SPAIN. But it was less the people of that country (in the old days of medieval Castile so often our friends) than its new Hapsburg dynasty which loomed, from the middle of the century, as the giant enemy. That dynasty, having first choked the free institutions existing among its Spanish subjects, was to spend a century in attacking, with Spanish arms, the free institutions of the Low Countries and (a necessary

consequence) those of England also, in its herculean endeavour to subdue Europe to a despotic military empire and a despotic and inquisitorial Church. Hence a fresh phase was about to open, at the end of Henry's reign, in the immemorial and, as history seems to show, inevitable alliance of England and Flanders.

Happily the defence of freedom did not rest solely upon the two little maritime countries. There was another state and interest menaced by the Hapsburgs. The kingdom of France could not without alarm see itself ringed round by the dominions of Charles V—king of Spain, king of Sicily, duke of Burgundy (Flanders), duke of Milan, Austrian archduke, who was endued also with the somewhat nebulous but not negligible authority, or rather influence, of Emperor. Except for the little eyrie of the Swiss cantons, the whole of the land frontier of France was at the mercy of this Spanish-German power—for the duke of Savoy was a very slender, if not a broken, reed in any alliance—while the sea frontier could be threatened by either the Spanish or the English navy. Hence it was with lifelong anxiety that François I played the three-handed game of alliances in which Wolsey, or Henry, vacillated to and fro between the king of France and the Emperor.

François I had, obviously, narrower resources than the Emperor, but he understood how to use two levers against his two opponents. Behind England lay Scotland, and behind the Emperor the "Protestant" princes of Germany. François regarded heresy much as Henry did, as a kind of personal insult, and while he was in alliance with Henry VIII he negotiated, with much success, to detach the papacy from the Hapsburg monarch. "But," he complained to the English envoy, "as fast as I study to win the pope, you study to lose him." And when the absorption of Henry in his own affairs, and the imperial victory in Italy, with the succeeding sack of Rome (1527), left the pope at the Emperor's mercy and the king of France isolated, François had to adopt the policy described as "Catholic at home and Protestant abroad."

In Northern Europe the progress of reforming principles was at first rapid. In Sweden and in the kingdom of Denmark-Norway, the greater part of the people supported the Crown in carrying the main programme, viz. the abolition of papal authority, secularisation of monasteries and of much ecclesiastical property, the use of the native language in the Scriptures and the Church services, and the adoption of Luther's exposition of Christian belief, which involved some dissent from certain of the dogmas and sacramental uses of the fifteenth century.

But in the Empire the collection of states, large and small, ruled by dukes, electors, princes, counts, bishops and even barons and corporations, could exhibit no such unanimity, far less would such potentates submit to the ruling of their nominal suzerain, the Emperor. The result was, first, a dignified appearance of consultation at several Diets (the aristocratic parliaments of the

Empire); secondly, attempts of the Emperor to enforce his will on the lesser sovereigns; thirdly, civil war, which seldom subsided between 1547 and 1648.

At the Diet of Worms (1521), Luther had appeared, to explain his teaching and demands. The papal legates had, as ever, confused and compressed all questions into one of obedience, and required Luther to recant everything. Luther refused, and the imperial *Edict of Worms* was published, declaring him a heretic and commanding all princes to extirpate Lutheranism. After outbursts of rage and violence of all kinds, the princes who denied the imperial right thus to dictate to the rulers of German states, gathered at the Diet of Spire (1526), where Charles V had to accept the principle that each of them should decide in religious matters for his own state ("*Cujus regio ejus religio*"). Next, his Italian war made the Emperor so strong that he revoked this edict and re-enacted his Edict of Worms. The reforming princes replied by drawing up a *Protest* and leaguering together (League of Smalcald, 1529). Next year they publicly adopted a Lutheran exposition of creed and principle—*The Confession of Augsburg* (1530)—and from that time the name "PROTESTANT" was given to them, meaning active combatants against imperial and papal despotism. There followed in Germany a century of wars and of diplomatic agreements made only to be broken.

Cromwell, with a reasonable foresight, wanted to ally England with the other anti-papal states, which, though no one of them was strong, were capable, together, of opposing a steady resistance to the great Spanish-Austrian power, and it was with this purpose that he persuaded Henry VIII to take as his fourth wife the daughter of the influential Protestant duke of Cleves. Henry had a strong distaste for the doctrinal Protestantism of Germany, and promptly repented of his engagement, so that when the princess Anne proved to be plain and dull, acquainted with hardly anything but her native German tongue and needlework, the king, furious, seized the opportunity to destroy his unpopular minister, and Cromwell's fall opened the king's way to withdraw from the Lutheran heretics and renew an alliance with Charles V. François I was able to exert the Scottish lever, but the battle of Solway Moss left Henry triumphant and Scotland in anarchy, though more closely bound to France than ever, while an English invasion of France (1544) resulted in the capture of Boulogne. Thus, for the moment, the policy of François had failed, but it was to be revived more successfully some years later.

The reign of François I saw brilliant achievements in France, where the fine arts flourished and magnificent *renaissance* buildings rose, such as the Château de Chambord, and whither the greatest Italian painters (da Vinci and Raphael) looked for patronage. Rabelais was beginning an intellectual revolution; Calvin, Farel and Marot were laying the foundation of French reform (the Calvinistic,

or Huguenot, movement), while François himself now tolerated all, now initiated brief but violent persecutions, which drove Calvin to Geneva. Nevertheless he was at all events less tyrannical than the Hapsburgs, or than his son and successor Henri II, at the news of whose accession 5000 scholars are said to have fled headlong from France.

The deaths of Henry VIII and François I, in 1547, altered the political situation; England, under the inexpert rule of aristocratic factions, took, for a few years, a definitely Protestant and anti-Imperial direction, while in France the reign of Henri II was practically the reign of royal ministers or favourites. Charles V was therefore unhampered, and in this fateful year, 1547, he fell upon the unsupported Protestant princes of Germany and broke their league to pieces (battle of Mühlberg), and thereafter led in triumph the new Roman movement to reconquer Europe. This movement is often called the *Counter-reformation*; its lines were laid down by the *Council of Trent* (from 1545), and its most important protagonists were the new *Order of Jesuits*.

The Council of Trent brought about a considerable measure of reform within the Roman Church, too late to recover to her obedience those states which had already relinquished papal authority, but in time to retain those which had not yet seceded. And as some of these reforms (in the life and rule of clergy, monks, etc., and in education) were not unlike what Erasmus and his friends had urged, they satisfied many excellent scholars and churchmen. Only, as the authority of the pope was magnified, and even declared to be divine, those who rejected his claims were but confirmed in their attitude.

The Order of Jesus (Jesuits), founded by the Spanish enthusiast Ignatius Loyola, and his saintly friend Xavier, was no mere order of monks, but a missionary force, intended for work among men of the world. Loyola, who had been a soldier, conceived of the Church as the army of God, always at war with pagans and heretics. His Order was not to be conventual, but to mingle with men in the world and re-conquer it for the Church—that is, for the papal obedience. This was to be done on the plan of a perfectly disciplined army. Obedience was the Jesuit's first and chiefest virtue; the Head of the Order, characteristically named the *General*, was to be absolute, and the members were to yield to him an obedience so entire that even if a command was felt by the recipient to be against his conscience he was to disregard his own conviction.

In order to be able to work for the great cause the Jesuit was trained perfectly. His weapons for the fight were to be those of the people among whom he was to go, only more skilfully used. Hence the Jesuit schools, whether for their own members or for children whom they educated, were admirably conducted; learning and intellect were encouraged; the language and habits of the

nation to which the missionary was to go were carefully acquired; the superiors were always men of great ability. The Order was organised like an army, each individual member knowing only the chief next above him, so that the whole conduct of the system was despotic—in opposition to the “democratic,” or popular, tendency of Protestant movements and to the “constitutional” and ancient system of the episcopal Church, with its bishops, clerical synods and publicity. The burning zeal of the Jesuits was illustrated by many fearless missionaries in India and America; their courage was flawless. But their methods of teaching and persuasion stirred indignation not only among the “heretical,” or reforming party, but among many Romanists. Briefly put, their characteristic method was to sanction any means which would bring about the end desired. The assassinations of William of Orange, Henri III and Henri IV and the persistent attempts to assassinate Elizabeth were attributed to their teaching. Not that any Jesuit Father directly employed an assassin: in the case of Henri III an ill-balanced devotee was allowed to overhear the question of the merit of murdering God’s enemy “discussed as an abstract question,” with the natural result.

The extreme skill and the perfect self-devotion of the Jesuits gave them a strong influence over those whom they taught and to whom they ministered. Their controversial ability made a mark in literature and in the universities, and by steady hard work they made many converts in districts, such as the Rhinelands and Poland, where they were able to teach and preach energetically. Their missions were most successful in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century; but governments, and not only in reformed countries, became hostile to them, as time went on, on account of one side of their system, which practically replaced patriotic duty and conscience by the personal subjection of the individual to his Jesuit confessor, and not infrequently permitted men to practise personal conduct which in itself was wrong, in consideration of successful action under Jesuit direction in political or similar spheres. “It was impossible for a good Jesuit to be a good citizen.”

During the middle part of the sixteenth century the power of Rome and of her champion, or master, the Emperor Charles V, steadily waxed stronger. Spanish troops held down the discontented Protestant princes of Germany, and persecution, organised by the remorseless Spanish Inquisition, began to be methodically introduced into all Charles’ dominions. He did not live to complete his work, but in 1556, believing his system well enough established, he laid down the burden of his crowns to retire into religious seclusion, where a few years later he died. He left the Empire and the Austrian dominions to his brother, Ferdinand I, Spain and the Low Countries to his son, Philip II, on whom Mary, queen of England, had already bestowed her hand and the crown of that

country. It seemed that only the extinction of France remained for Philip to achieve.

Nevertheless, so little impression was made upon Englishmen by these European events that the principal influence exerted upon them during these years 1540-1558 by the continent was in the domain, not of political, but of religious, thought and theory. Persecution drove Dutch and French reformers to Switzerland or England, and the teaching and the books of the advanced reformers now became familiar to the reading public in England, and exercised an extraordinary influence, especially in Cambridge and London, whence their doctrines, so clear and so simple to carry out, spread quickly among the towns of the midland and eastern counties. Flying from cruelties unknown in England, and worse than those felt, as yet, by Lutherans in Germany, these Calvinist refugees taught that everything Roman was evil, and they included almost the whole of the ancient ritual and doctrine of the Church under the term *Roman*. Their English disciples therefore advocated as much alteration in the Church as possible, a programme wholly different from that of Henry VIII.

XI

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND (1529–1547)

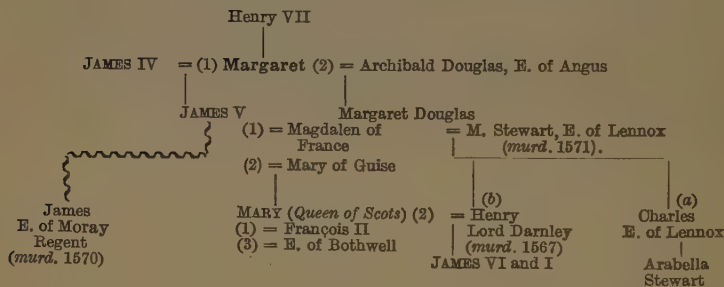
KINGS OF SCOTS

James IV : 1488–1513.

James V : 1513–1542.

Mary : 1542–1567 (deposed).

James VI : 1567–1625 (1603, England)



SCOTLAND went through experiences very different from those of England during the century 1488–1588. Each of the four sovereigns who succeeded to her uneasy throne was a minor, and Scotland therefore endured four times in one century the disasters of a regency in the hands of self-seeking nobles. The last three monarchs inherited the throne while still infants, and the fate of Scotland was really determined during the childhood of Mary and of James VI.

The marriage of Margaret Tudor with James IV did not bring about the friendly alliance of England and Scotland for which Henry VII had hoped, although it did, in the end, result in the peaceful union of both kingdoms in the very manner which Henry's councillors had foreseen and thought to be the most dangerous of catastrophes.

Margaret Tudor was possessed by the same violent and selfish personal passions as her brother, Henry VIII, without a tithe of his ability, and she flung away recklessly the position naturally conceded to her as the Regent for her infant son by marrying the incompetent and unpopular earl of Angus. She even had to fly to England for safety, and her daughter, the Lady Margaret Douglas,

was born, and for many years lived in England. Margaret Douglas married Matthew Stewart, earl of Lennox, whose family was collateral with the royal Stewarts, and their son was Lord Darnley.

The domineering policy of Henry VIII alienated young James V, who regarded the ecclesiastical changes in England with distaste. Henry tried to induce him to do the like, but James replied, with more wit than justice, that he thanked God that his monasteries were in no such shocking case as those of his uncle. He sought political support in France, and his marriage with a daughter of the enterprising House of Guise made it certain that the French king could reckon on Scottish help against England when needed. It was needed when François I resolved to join Charles V against Henry VIII, and war followed (1541-1550).

Henry VIII resorted first to insult and then to force. A raid under the duke of Norfolk (1541) was a disgraceful failure, but the Scottish return invasion was rendered as futile by dissension between James V and his principal nobles. James was too ill to lead the army himself, and while the nobles were wrangling, a well-planned attack by Dacre and Wharton drove the Scottish army to destruction in Solway Moss.

The news of the disaster killed the unhappy James, and Henry believed that Scotland lay at his mercy. He therefore demanded the hand of the infant Princess Mary for little Prince Edward, and when the principal regent, Cardinal Beaton, refused, Henry connived at his murder at the hands of his rivals. Murder was an almost recognised resource of Scottish politics.

Henry was counting on a "reforming" party in that country, where the bishoprics and monasteries had always been so wealthy and powerful that the nobles habitually secured them as appanages in their own families, from which it followed (1) that the Church was involved in their feuds and quarrels, so that the townsfolk and average small landholders felt little attachment to it, and (2) that there were a number of nobles who coveted its endowments. This faction was ready to make terms with Henry and throw over France, in order to secure the spoils of the Church, and was accordingly willing to betroth Mary to Edward. But the terms Henry required were so humiliating that the national passion for independence was roused. Mary was hidden securely in a Highland fortress in the middle of a lake, and the successful and very cruel raid conducted by the earl of Hertford, in 1544, achieved nothing beyond destruction.

This expedition was somewhat remarkable as a military feat, because the English navy was used to carry an army into the Forth, and Leith and beautiful mediæval Edinburgh were burned, while a land force advancing from Berwick devastated the Lowlands and destroyed, in the name of reform, nearly all the glorious churches and monasteries from the Cheviots to the Firth of Forth.

The death of Henry (1547) produced little change. Hertford,

now duke of Somerset, could devise no means but force to attain his object—the marriage of Edward VI with Mary. He led another invasion into Scotland and won another brilliant success, at the battle of Pinkie, 1548, only to find that the Scots saved their independence by sending their little queen to be protected and educated in France. There, in 1558, she was married, a girl of seventeen, to the Dauphin François, and the next year saw the death of Henri II and the proclamation of François II and Mary as king and queen of France, Scotland and England. If Spain had good hope of annexing England, France, it seemed, had already annexed Scotland and might soon reach further. The excuse for this assumption of a title which was practically a declaration of war upon England and Queen Elizabeth was the refusal of Romanists to recognise Elizabeth as Henry VIII's legitimate daughter, whence it appeared, to continental thinking, that she could not inherit the crown. This claim of Mary's, which set aside the parliamentary and national right to decide, was destined to be a dangerous threat to Elizabeth.

What Somerset did accomplish, though he did not live to see the result, was the paving of the road to a political and religious revolution in Scotland which, by strange and unforeseen coincidences, led, in the end, to a friendly understanding between the two peoples. He modified his military methods so far as to try to conciliate the population of the western Lowlands, who were, in any case, inclined to be antagonistic to their own ferocious nobility and haughty churchmen. He assured them that "this is a war to end all wars" (an idea he was neither the first nor the last to entertain), and he endeavoured, with some success, to cultivate friendly relations by encouraging reforming preachers and literature.

The famous John Knox began to preach in 1547, and a vigorous movement began towards political and religious liberty which meant a struggle for a more democratic government and the secularisation of Church property. As the Regent—the queen dowager, Mary of Guise, with her French allies, stood for the old-established religion, the reforming party naturally turned for support to England. Thus the French alliance was bound up with the Roman system, the English, with reform and increased popular liberty.

XII

EXPERIMENT IN EXTREMES

(A) THE PROTESTANT EXPERIMENT: EDWARD VI (1547-1553)

WHEN Henry VIII died, the exercise of royal supremacy fell, in theory, into the hands of a boy of nine; in practice, into those of a Council most of whose members had but lately attained to power and rank.

The result was, on the one hand, a competition among the councillors for supreme power over Church and State, on the other, a fierce resentment among the great mass of the people at their arbitrary proceedings. It was one thing to obey a strong-willed and able monarch, regarded as holding a semi-religious position, and who could not help being responsible, all his life, for what he did and what he prepared for his heir, and quite another to see dukes and earls, chancellors and admirals, sending out conflicting commands and taking for their private ends the endowments anciently stored up for public or religious purposes. In two years' time two-thirds of the counties of England were convulsed by armed insurrections followed by countless executions, and the local order and rough justice so carefully maintained by Henry vanished, together with the ecclesiastical system he had so skilfully framed.

The elder uncle of the boy king, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was accorded by the Council the office of Protector, with the rank and revenue of duke of Somerset. He was to exercise power in the name of Edward VI, but, as he was really dependent upon the support of the other leading members of the Council, they also secured titles and grants of property. The most active and unscrupulous of them was Dudley (son of the financier executed in 1509), whom Henry VIII had recently created Lord Lisle and who now took the ambitious title of earl of Warwick, "a subtle ruffian," as he was well described.

A tremendous task confronted the Protector Somerset. England was at war with Scotland and France; the navy was feeble and the coast defences in ruins; there was a heavy royal debt, and the coinage was debased, yet no taxes could be collected. A profound discontent¹ was agitating the yeomen, peasantry and labouring class, less in consequence of religious changes than of their hard

¹ See Chapter XIX.

treatment by the new landlords, while the gentry were inflamed by rivalries, religious discord, and greed.

Somerset was moved by excellent intentions, so excellent that he behaved as if their very merit would suffice to carry them out. He led the way in the repeal by parliament of the special and arbitrary legislation of the late years: royal proclamations upon religion ceased to have the force of law, the ferocious Treason Acts were repealed, and also the Act of Six Articles and all other persecuting Acts from the reign of Richard II. This meant a sudden freedom in sermons, lectures and conversation: every parson, and many lay patrons, proceeded to act as seemed good to themselves at church or in private. While in one church the crucifix was replaced by the royal coat of arms, and texts were painted over the sacred pictures on the walls, in another all the customary old ceremonies were practised, and in either some discontented parishioner might interrupt the service by outcries, and "conscientiously" refuse to pay his tithes and fees.

The investigations made at once by the bishops in each diocese, and by a separate set of government commissioners also, into the property of the chantries, were disturbing both to those who dreaded and to those who hoped for further confiscation. But Somerset did not view the position as the dying Henry had seen it, as one of difficulty, to be kept by him in its trembling balance till Edward VI should be grown up and able to deal with it himself. Rather did he seem to suppose himself a dictator with a clear opportunity of distributing to a grateful nation a set of "reforms" which were to reorganise Church, State and foreign relations. Somerset was no statesman, merely an idealist of a very ordinary type, political or otherwise, inattentive to difficulties, ignorant of facts and human nature.

In the sphere of religion, it was clear that under Edward VI, or, rather, as he was a minor, under the Council, there could be no undoing of Henry's separation from Rome. Whether the system which he had for ten years maintained, of the old doctrines and the new royal control, was to be continued (as he had desired), depended upon the manner in which the royal supremacy was to be exercised during the minority.

Somerset was one of the rather numerous class among the gentry who had become influenced by the works of some of the foreigners, Lutheran, Zwinglian or Calvinist. So also were Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, while Gardiner, Tunstall and Bonner, who had gone every step with Henry VIII, did not accept these advanced doctrines, but were inclined rather to strengthen the ties with the past. The principal questions which divided the bishops concerned the Sacraments. Where Henry, with Gardiner, Bonner and Tunstall, held to the definitions and lofty sacramental teaching of the Church of old, Archbishop Cranmer, with Ridley and others, rejected transubstantiation. Some of the bishops and clergy leaned towards

Lutheran definition; Cranmer, with the instinctive distaste of the scholarly and devout for precise dogmatism, was more anxious to guard the sacramental mystery and to strengthen personal spiritual religion than to set out definitions. But there was a growing school which, with Ridley and the Protector, was attracted by the theological clarity of Calvin, and others who, with Hooper, almost ignored the idea of a sacrament in emphasising the act of commemoration. As time went on, the Calvinist school, which developed the most definite programme and the most active propaganda, became more influential than the older Lutheran school, and at times the Calvinist disputants seemed to be primarily intent upon devising definitions which should conflict with those of the Roman Church. On the other hand, Latimer, the favourite preacher of the Londoners and perhaps the bishop with most influence among the common people, attached little importance to dogmatic expressions, but, on the one hand, attacked Rome as the chief enemy of true religion, and, on the other, urged in exceedingly plain language the cardinal necessity of leading a Christian life in practice, especially for those in authority.

Cranmer had been preparing for some time before Henry's death a Liturgy in English, largely based upon the familiar *Use of Sarum* (in Latin), but drawing upon other sources also for its beautiful prayers and offices. This is the *First Prayer-Book of Edward VI* (1549). As soon as it was finished, Somerset applied to parliament for a law to make its use compulsory. This, the first ACT OF UNIFORMITY, involved some novel principles: (a) that all dioceses should have a similar Use—for, though the *Use of Sarum* was the one most often followed in England, there had always been some other local Uses; (b) that parliament should intervene in the religious sphere, not, as under Henry, to make legal what the king, as Supreme Head, had decided, but to impose a law on the clergy as to religious worship, a lay body thus superseding Convocation in the obvious business of Convocation; (c) that the clergy were subjected to the ordinary law-courts in respect of their conduct of divine worship. Once more the difference might be felt between a permanent and responsible king and a collection of ministers, representing only a certain class of the nation, and in power only during a few months. The Council, too, assumed further powers by ordering a "Visitation" of their own, of the clergy and churches, thus superseding the bishops in diocesan work. It looked much like a control of religion by secular officials. Gardiner and Bonner had the courage to protest, and were imprisoned.

In the meantime, Somerset's excellent intentions did not fill his own or the State coffers, and he could see no means of obtaining the necessary supplies but by drawing on such endowments as still could be extorted from the Church. The *Chantries Act*, which technically expired with Henry VIII, was re-enacted, and every "superstitious" Gild, Brotherhood, Hospital and Chantry was

confiscated for the royal use, taken, that is, from religious purposes and used to lighten taxation and fill the pockets of the ministers.

For his own benefit, Somerset suppressed the new bishopric of Westminster and seized and cleared away a parish church and the houses of several bishops in order to build, close to Westminster, a vast palace, Somerset House. It was with difficulty that he was persuaded not to pull down the Abbey-Church itself, and he only relinquished it in consideration of twenty manors from its ancient endowments. In the country, the most venerable shrine in England, Glastonbury, was turned by him into a woollen factory. These sweeping robberies went far to undo the good opinion hitherto generally held of the Protector.

That chantries and gilds were "superstitious" was alleged under colour of their obligation to pray for the souls of departed founders or members. But their active benevolence should have outweighed anything that the narrower reformers could pretend against them.

(1) *CHANTRIES*

As has already been explained, the chantry priests were, in fact, the curates and schoolmasters. The Chantries Act was so worded that exemptions might be made for schools, but the exemptions were not carried out, and the result was a sweeping ruin of elementary education. No means were now left by which the village boys might learn to read, while in every large centre of population three-fourths of the priests were driven from their posts, and numbers of persons were necessarily deprived of the sacraments. How could one priest (asked the men of a crowded parish in Northampton) possibly minister to 1400 "houseling persons" (communicants)? but no attention was paid.

The universities and the two famous schools of Winchester and Eton were still exempted from confiscation, but now a number of grammar schools disappeared because they had some connection with a religious corporation. A small number of these schools were restored, with diminished endowments, and declared by a fiction, to be "founded" by Edward VI. So that the boy king has come to enjoy a wholly undeserved credit as a creator of schools, although he is, quite credibly, said to have taken great pleasure in drawing up fresh regulations for the discipline of Eton scholars.

(2) *GILDS*

The confiscation of the property of the gilds destroyed a vast number of small societies, whose little endowments had sufficed to provide certain religious services and to make a nucleus for mutual benefits—such as funeral expenses, sick pay, pensions, dowries, etc. The hardship inflicted was widespread, and it was inflicted on the poor. But the wealthy classes from whom parliament was drawn had begun to dread combinations of poor folk. It was dangerous, said their theorists, to permit the existence of societies

which might some day oppose "the State." This is an early hint that government might in some way be in opposition to the people. The sense of injustice and the hatred of change in religion were powerful enough to produce widespread revolts at once. And it is noticeable how well-informed the people were of the course of political events, ignorant though they were of the heavy chances against themselves.

REVOLTS

Revolts began in 1549 (*a*) in the south-west (Somerset, Gloucestershire, Wilts and Dorset), and in the eastern counties, the two principal manufacturing districts. They were chiefly directed against the new landlords, their enclosures of common lands, and their pulling down of houses and turning farm land into sheep-walks.¹ (*b*) In Devon and Cornwall, and in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, the grievances were religious. (*c*) In Kent and Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, and in Yorkshire, both these causes, and local reasons also, excited sporadic revolts, which were easily put down.

The Devon insurgents, who began in a little village near Crediton, announced that they knew that the new Prayer-book (ordered to be used on Whit-sunday, 1549) was contrary to the will of King Henry. He had forbidden any more changes in religion till King Edward should be of age, "and we will have no change either." A bit of insolence from one of the Raleighs—a family enriched by monastic plunder—to an old woman who was telling her beads roused others to arms: Cornwall clamoured for the familiar Latin mass again instead of the foreign English tongue. The gentry fled (as in 1381) before the insurgents, who proceeded to besiege Exeter, but the city held out under its spirited mayor, till old Lord Russell and Lord Grey of Wilton arrived with troops and massacred the unskilled rebels.

Oxfordshire had been stung into rebellion by the truculent disputations of an Italian refugee, Peter "Martyr," and the peasantry rose under their parish priests to demand the old services and the putting down of heretics.

Norfolk was set afire by a courageous manufacturer, Kett (he owned a tannery and had a good landed property). Indignant at the robbery of the poor by the rich, he pulled down some enclosures and assumed command of a large body of workmen and labourers. While the Devon men were fruitlessly besieging Exeter, Kett seized Norwich, but once there he remained inactive, apparently expecting the government to yield to his demands for the suppression of enclosures and sheep-farms.

The duke of Somerset was sufficiently aware of, and in sympathy with, the popular grievances to be unwilling to punish anybody; he was, also, in ample difficulties with France and Scotland, and in consequence it fell to other and more ruthless members of the

¹ See Chapter XIX.

Council to deal with the insurgents, Warwick and Russell especially gaining credit for prompt action. They fetched German and other mercenary troops from the Continent, and the popular movements were quenched in blood. The Oxfordshire priests were hanged from the steeples of their own churches, and the Norfolk peasants were slaughtered to the number of some three thousand.

Already the foundations of his authority had given way beneath Somerset's feet. His brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, Lord Admiral, was scheming to supplant him. Sudeley had perpetrated shameless robbery of the public funds, and scandalised even the Privy Council by his personal arrogance. He had married the Queen Dowager Catherine, and had in consequence obtained charge of her wards, the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey. He had curried favour with the child king by flattery and gifts, and had already taught him to dislike Somerset, when the Council interfered. Seymour was accused of treason, condemned by an Act of Attainder and executed, whereupon all men blamed Somerset for putting his own brother to death. No sooner was the execution achieved than Somerset's eyes were opened. Himself was the victim really aimed at. He fled from London to Windsor, carrying the king with him, and actually issued an appeal to the populace to come and rescue him. It was easy for the astute Warwick, with his hired foreign troops at hand to arrest him, and he was sent to the Tower with his two secretaries, William Cecil and Sir Thomas Smith.

Although to arrest Somerset Warwick had procured the help of several lords who preferred the older forms of religious worship, he had no sooner grasped the reins of power than he disappointed their hopes. His own fortune was built on Church plunder, and his scheme of rule could not be carried out by reaction or moderation.

The new dictator created himself duke of Northumberland, and his puppet the Marquis of Dorset, the father of Jane Grey, duke of Suffolk, and made others of his supporters peers. A hasty peace was made with France by the surrender of Boulogne, and Scotland was left to itself. As parliament would not grant a tax, the duke of Northumberland was driven to obtain money in other ways. He still further debased the coinage, already in a deplorable state, borrowed heavily from German financiers, left all the Crown officers unpaid, and for his own behoof devised a further plunder of the Church. Northumberland had no policy, he only endeavoured to outdo Somerset. He therefore insisted upon a further simplification of the organisation and services of the Church. Cranmer was willing to abolish the crowd of lesser "orders" (janitors, exorcists, etc.) and sub-deacons, and to define only two (not seven) principal sacraments, but all the bishops protested against the evident intention to abolish the episcopate and reduce the English ritual to the gloomy skeleton found within the whitewashed walls of Genevan chapels. *The Second Prayer-book of Edward VI* (1552) embodied much concession to Calvinist

doctrines, and showed the extraordinary influence of foreign theologians invited into this country.

Northumberland was intent on making himself independent of parliament and, perhaps, of monarchy; he deprived Tunstall of Durham, secularised the Bishopric and planned to rule like a king in the North. He encouraged Edward to claim and exercise arbitrary authority, especially in religious affairs. The boy of thirteen wrote to Convocation that if they would not make in the Prayer-book the alterations he desired, he would make them himself, and he presided in person at the meeting of the Council. He wept over the iniquity of permitting the Princess Mary to hear Mass, since the Council dared not offend the Emperor by interfering with her, and he now wrote her a theological letter to dissuade her from her errors. Mary replied that she would dutifully obey him when he should be grown up, but that he was not yet of an age to understand such questions, and the obstinate, precocious, over-educated lad was easily brought by Northumberland to regard his sister with righteous indignation and to find satisfaction in converse with his cousin Jane Grey, a girl as highly educated and as ignorant of the world as himself.

The violent proceedings of Northumberland made him very unpopular: he threatened to abrogate the liberties of London because prices rose when he proclaimed the testoon (shilling) to be worth only sixpence, and in fear lest, in the popular reaction, Somerset should recover power, he had his rival tried for treason on forged evidence, condemned and executed, to the rage and grief of the Londoners (1552).

Northumberland was next confronted by the certainty that the delicate young king was stricken by mortal disease, and his scheme to secure, nevertheless, his own position, was no better than a gambler's throw. He easily convinced Edward that, as his father had bequeathed the throne by will (by virtue of a parliamentary Act), he had power to do the like (though without any Act) and set aside his father's will; and that his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, being both illegitimated by Acts of Parliament, the Lady Jane Grey, grand-daughter of Henry's sister Mary, was the nearest rightful heir. Northumberland had married Jane, barely sixteen, to his own son, Guildford Dudley, a weak-willed lad, and he supposed, therefore, that the royal authority would really be in his own hands. Edward made the suggested will, and the councillors, peers, bishops, judges and aldermen of London were ordered to sign it. Many had made their bargain with Northumberland, others were afraid to refuse, and probably many regarded the will as a temporary device which they might later disavow. Archbishop Cranmer, however, repeatedly refused, till Northumberland brought him to the bedside of the dying Edward. The entreaties and agitation of the young king, for whom Cranmer, his constant tutor and protector, felt a deep affection, at last overcame the real conviction of the archbishop.

When, in July 1553, the poor boy died, Northumberland's first step was to make the Princess Mary prisoner, but she had already fled from her Hertfordshire home, Hunsdon, to the stout walls of the duke of Norfolk's castle of Framlingham. Northumberland had Queen Jane proclaimed, amid the ominous silence of the Londoners, and arranged for her immediate coronation, only to find that she regarded her new dignity, which was actually repugnant to her, as a sacred charge, and utterly refused to have her husband crowned with her.

The issue was hardly doubtful for a day, for one of the most unanimous of national movements falsified the expectations entertained alike by Northumberland, the Council, the king of France, and the Emperor. In every county where the late revolts had been attempted, and so cruelly punished, not Queen Jane, but Queen Mary, was proclaimed. The sailors on the royal ships shouted for her. The tenantry of the newly-enriched gentry deserted them, like one man, and flocked to follow the men of the older caste—Carews, Talbots, Hastings or Howards.

Northumberland set off with a small body of troops for the eastern counties, where Cambridge alone appeared to have any intention of supporting Queen Jane, but he learned that 30,000 men had flocked to Mary's banner, and that in London, behind him, the Lord Mayor and the earl of Shrewsbury were proclaiming Queen Mary among a crowd so jubilant that their shouts drowned the voices of the officers. The duke of Suffolk had taken his daughter to the Tower for safety, and was in time to go forth himself to proclaim Mary on Tower Hill. Northumberland made an equally contemptible exhibition, and to as little purpose, in the Protestant university town by a similar *volte-face*.

In the capital, no sooner had Northumberland left, than a conviction of the unanimous will of the citizens put fear into the Council. The Lord Mayor, encouraged by the earl of Shrewsbury, called together the aldermen, and the Council authorised the proclamation of Queen Mary at Cheapside (July 19, 1553).

London broke into rejoicings unparalleled for many years. The organ in the devastated choir of St. Paul's pealed once again in a *Te Deum*, the church bells rang till dark, and the streets were then lit up with bonfires, while the population feasted and cheered. Five days later the hated Northumberland entered the City again, a prisoner to the earl of Arundel—who had sped him on his way to capture Mary only a week earlier. He and his five sons and Queen Jane were all kept prisoners in the Tower. On August 3 Mary arrived, amid the acclamations of the people, and set free their former prisoners—Somerset's widow, the old duke of Norfolk, imprisoned since the last year of King Henry, the young, slender-witted Courtenay, now earl of Devon, and Gardiner, with five other bishops.

During the brief season of Northumberland's supremacy he had

carried out the *Second Great Pillage* of the property of the Church on a system more calamitous to religion than the plunder of Henry VIII and Somerset. With the approval of the more extreme theologians (such as Ridley) and of the foreigners, an order was issued for the destruction of images and ornaments which were "superstitiously" used. The decision was left to men moved, not by any sense of religion, but by mere lust of destruction, or foolish zeal to abolish everything anciently revered, because they fancied that everything old was "Roman" and therefore "superstitious." By the brutal and the ignorant the parish churches were defaced. Stained glass, being easy to smash and impossible to replace, was ruthlessly shattered, carving and painting, and even organs and bells, were destroyed. At the same time, altars were ordered to be replaced by wooden tables without any ornament.

The foreign school believed that intellect and conscience were hampered by beauty and music. On the same plea, the Protestant party even objected to daily worship, unless it was private, and desired to see churches opened only upon Sunday. It was quite in accordance with their gloomy and intensely logical view of religion that they should also seek to make Sunday a day of solemnity alone. Already most of the over-many saints' days, which had once been compulsory holidays, had been abolished, so that, instead of one or two holidays a week, besides Sunday, the working classes now had hardly any. Efforts were made to suppress the customary games and festivities upon Sunday. The reaction of Mary's reign prevented much progress being made with this attempt to introduce the Calvinist sabbath at this time, but the programme was to be brought forward again in the next century.

XIII

EXPERIMENT IN EXTREMES

(B) THE ROMAN EXPERIMENT : MARY (JULY 1553-1558)

TWENTY years of danger, grief and indignation had not weakened Mary's courage or her royal dignity. She opened her reign with remarkable clemency : Jane and Guildford Dudley she said, were but helpless tools and she would not punish them. Only Northumberland and two of his most active agents were put to death. He died, as he had lived, with lies upon his lips. Acknowledging on the scaffold (as was the accepted custom) that his punishment was just, he declared that he had not been the author of the scheme to crown Lady Jane, and further, that he had always in his heart been loyal to the ancient form of religion.

Mary had for long years been compelled to rely upon her own judgment, nor did she now find a body of loyal and able ministers in whom she could trust. All the office-holders were men of Somerset's or Northumberland's choice, and she could replace them only by men trained during the later years of Henry VIII. Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall and other bishops were restored to the sees of which they had been deprived under Edward, while Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, who were personally identified with the opposition to her succession, took their places in prison. But the restored prelates had all helped to carry out Henry's changes, and though the events of Edward's reign had convinced them that papal supremacy was a less evil than too much "reform," yet the queen could not regard them as enthusiasts or martyrs for the Roman cause, like herself. Her position as Supreme Head of the English Church, however, made it fairly easy for her to decree the re-imposition of Roman authority and the restoration of the ancient services, nor did she ever relinquish the title. The change was accepted, doubtless with joy in the country, where memory and affection were rooted in the past, but among the townspeople there were more mingled feelings, and the nobles and gentry only endorsed the royal decision with the proviso that no plunder should have to be returned to the Church.

The political conduct of the government offered more difficulty. It was of the first necessity that the queen should marry, and her choice of a husband, whether foreign or English, would indicate her policy. Parliament and the Council—Gardiner, the new Chancellor,

chief among them—were strongly in favour of an English husband, but the only person whom they, or the general voice, could suggest was Courtenay, son of the marquis of Exeter executed in 1538, and himself a prisoner in the Tower ever since. Unfortunately the moment he was liberated Courtenay showed himself imbued with as much arrogance and selfishness as any of his progenitors, while he devoted himself to the lowest pleasures. Such a partner on the throne Mary scornfully rejected, and she applied for advice to the one friend on whom she felt she could count, the Emperor Charles V. The Emperor suggested his own son Philip (II), now a widower, to whom he was about to resign the Low Countries and Spain, and Mary embraced the proposal with ardour.

No foreign prince could be acceptable to the English, and Philip's character—cold, remorseless and bigoted—was well enough known to inspire alarm among the adherents of reform. The more far-sighted foretold that England would be plunged into a continental war for Spanish interests, and all dreaded the introduction of that fierce Spanish soldiery whose reputation was already terrible in the Low Countries, Germany and Italy. If no fit English husband could be found for the queen, Gardiner and his colleagues urged a French alliance. But Mary disregarded all arguments and at once pledged herself to the Spanish marriage.

The result was a hasty and widespread conspiracy, ostensibly, to compel the queen to relinquish the alliance with Philip II, secretly, to place her in durance and change the government, though it was never known whether Elizabeth or Jane was to be proclaimed. Sir Thomas Wyatt raised some followers in Kent and entered London, where Mary's courage and the stout resistance of a small body of gentry and citizens made his attempt a fiasco in a few hours. But Wyatt had been abetted by the Lady Jane's father, Suffolk, and though with his habitual meanness the duke at once surrendered, confessed his guilt and accused his accomplices, Mary saw that her earlier clemency had been misunderstood. It was taken as a sign of timidity, and had merely encouraged this second rebellion (as had been the case, again and again, in the three former reigns), and she therefore sent to the scaffold, not only Wyatt and Suffolk, but their unlucky victims, Jane Grey and her husband.

Whether Elizabeth should share the fate of Jane was the next question. There was no proof of her complicity, yet she was now certainly the sole hope of plotters against Mary. Elizabeth was placed securely in the Tower, boldly asserting her own innocence, just as Philip came to England, attended by no army but only by a prudent suite who tried, like their prince, to conciliate insular prejudice. The marriage was celebrated, and the reign of Philip and Mary was proclaimed in July 1554.

Immediately after arrived Cardinal Reginald Pole—at length considering England safe. He was armed with the powers of papal

legate, and pronounced the papal absolution for past heresy over the national representatives assembled in parliament around the king and queen.

This reconciliation had, however, required much negotiation, for as the ecclesiastical laws of Henry VIII and Edward VI had been passed by parliament, they must be repealed by parliament, and this the Houses refused to do until they were certain that no restitution of Church property would be required. The bargain had to be struck; the nobility and gentry kept their spoils, shamelessly professed a lip-repentance, repealed the Acts of Henry VIII and restored the old persecuting laws of Henry IV and V. It was next for the queen and the bishops to set up such courts for Church discipline as they considered suitable: the old ritual was restored, clerical celibacy was enforced, and the use of the English Bible forbidden. These alterations were expected, but the course of active persecution upon which the queen entered probably surprised everyone. Pole, the new archbishop, alone agreed with Mary in her endeavour to enforce a doctrinal unity by such means. Philip and his councillors begged the queen to be more cautious, and protected Elizabeth; Gardiner was reluctant, and Tunstall refused to prosecute heretics, but the queen and her kinsman the cardinal applied their fierce and narrow principles conscientiously, and in the next three years (1555-1558) some 300 persons were put to death as heretics.

The effect of the Marian persecution was remarkable, for the charge against the victims was, not treason, but *heresy*. The queen was trying to return to the medieval system, and to constrain conscientious or intellectual conviction by physical punishment. Except for a few cases under the Act of Six Articles, this had not been avowedly attempted for a century. Henry VIII had attacked almost all his victims on the plea of treason. Those who gave a prior allegiance to the pope were no longer, he maintained, loyal subjects of the king. The conclusion might be unjust, but public feeling condoned occasional injustice or cruelty to individuals in the interests of unity and order. Even the victims of Henry's severity and suspicion as a rule fell in with the accepted theories so far as to announce on the scaffold their submission to his law and their regret at having offended.

But Mary's executions were carried out in the name of religion, and most of the victims were deliberately sought out. Public feeling was shocked by the repeated experience that a few words in an intricate definition, or the use of an English Bible, or the refusal to observe some points of ritual, sufficed to send to a revolting death harmless old men, young mothers, industrious and sober workmen, respectable shopkeepers and the most revered of the teaching and preaching clergy. The general indignation shows that in popular feeling a distinction was beginning to be drawn

between external uniformity, which the Crown was expected to enforce, and private opinion, into which the Crown need not, and should not, inquire. Again, while Henry chose examples from the scanty ranks of the eminent, Mary usually sought them among ordinary people. Probably more relief than sorrow had been felt on the deaths of Wolsey, Cromwell, Buckingham or Exeter; the execution of several respected abbots and even of the Carthusians was sheltered by the specious plea of treason, and was probably regarded as exceptional. But now, while the wealthy and aristocratic had saved themselves at the cost of a little additional hypocrisy, numbers of the population of the southern and midland towns felt themselves threatened in their homes.

During the past seven years the work of the reforming bishops—Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, Saunders—and of their more earnest helpers, such as Rowland Taylor, had not been in vain, and in places where, for some fifteen years, the English Bible had been studied, or where, for six years, the lectures of such honoured foreign theologians as Bucer had been attended, conscience and intellect had been convinced by the reformers' doctrines.

The bishops stood firm and were sent at once to prison, only Coverdale was rescued by the personal intercession of the king of Denmark, for whom he was extradited. Latimer might have escaped, but refused to fly. Cranmer, perhaps hesitating, as before, between royal supremacy and his own beliefs, and appalled by the prospect of such agony, was alone persuaded to a temporary submission. The Vice-Chancellor of the Protestant university of Cambridge, Parker, went into retirement, the foreigners and many of their disciples fled abroad. Taylor and others of like mind remained in their parishes. The unflinching courage of the men of the advanced school of thought—Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Saunders, Taylor, and many of their humbler followers—confirmed the faith of their flocks. The belief for which such honoured men died was more than a doctrine, it became a Faith. The timid archbishop was wrought upon by their example to make the supreme sacrifice, and many who, like him, had hesitated and flinched at first were inspired by the triumph of faith over natural fear.

The result was a profound indignation which soon, as was usual in England, expressed itself actively, by local risings. The three years of persecution (1555-1558) brought about a sweeping change of feeling in the nation. There arose an unwonted sympathy with certain foreign peoples who were suffering far more than the English. In half the time of Mary's persecution Philip had put to death four times the number of victims furnished by England in the small province of Holland alone; and the rest of the Low Countries witnessed similar horrors. The English began to understand what Rome, Spain and the Inquisition meant in practice. In vain did

Philip carefully dissociate himself from the activity of his wife and the Privy Council, in vain he posed as the protector of Elizabeth, and even interceded for more leniency.

The *Spanish Inquisition* had become a name of terror on the continent, and men were convinced that the king, who from 1556 was absolute monarch in Spain and the Low Countries, was only waiting a better opportunity to destroy the liberties of England. The Spaniards drew wrong conclusions from their observation of the habitual obedience of Englishmen. Those gentry who cared so little about religion and grasped so eagerly at wealth cared profoundly for the freedom and greatness of their country and for their own liberties.

Nothing that Mary could say would induce the Council and parliament to allow Philip to be crowned, and when the country was dragged into a French war to help the Spanish king, and Calais was thereupon captured by the brilliant French general, the duke of Guise, the nation attributed its humiliation to Philip. It was supposed that he intended to recover it and make it Spanish. When, finally, he refused to allow English merchants to trade with his American dominions, or even with the colonies of our ancient ally Portugal—which was now under his control—the townsfolk, the maritime men, and the gentry, all alike, beheld in the king-consort the national enemy.

It was, moreover, made clear in no equivocal manner, that the influence of the enemy's religion was powerfully exerted on behalf of Spain and against England: the papacy was now more anti-English than in the wars of the Plantagenet Edwards. The discoveries made by Spanish and Portuguese navigators had produced some rivalry between those countries, who assumed (as men seem always to have done) that the larger the world became the less room it would afford to other nations. To settle their jealousies Pope Alexander VI had decreed that all places discovered west of a line drawn just east of Cape Verde should belong to Spain, and all east of that line to Portugal.

This papal award blandly ignored all the other nations, and the French, having expressed their indignant dissent, disregarded it, boldly ran their ships to the Brazil or the African coasts, and began to chart the courses which the would-be monopolists tried to keep secret. The English wanted to follow French example, as they had done before, but under Mary they were forbidden to do so. They might only go into the frozen seas and track the route to Russia, and thence arose the Muscovy company, the one contribution of Philip and Mary to English progress.

Nothing but the certainty that the end of their rule was at hand prevented more general revolts, but it was known that the queen was attacked by a mortal sickness, and since she was childless, and her heir, Elizabeth, was expected to reverse her policy, the nation

was content to wait. When, on the evening of November 17, the death of Mary was announced, and the accession of Elizabeth, London burst into a frenzy of rejoicing. Bonfires were lighted in the streets and the well-to-do set out tables and feasted their neighbours, keeping up a universal merriment the whole night. "Most shocking and indecent," said the Spanish residents.



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XIV

TUDOR GOVERNMENT AND FINANCE

BEFORE considering Elizabeth's reconstruction of order and her effort to grapple with great problems, it is necessary to outline the Tudor system of government, which differed as much from the medieval as from that of our own day.

Its principal characteristic was that, while parliament, except under Wolsey, was almost regularly summoned (about once in four years by Elizabeth), it was not treated (as in our time) as the sole authority for everything, nor as having a right to know everything. The COUNCIL—the equivalent of the modern Cabinet—was the principal instrument of governance. It was selected by the sovereign, and directed both foreign policy and home affairs with the authority of the Crown. The Council was now smaller in numbers than in the fifteenth century, yet as a rule only a selection of its members attended the long and almost daily meetings. The ministries of Wolsey and Cromwell formed an exception to the habitual Tudor system: those powerful men were absolute, under the king. During the rest of the period the principal ministers, besides attending each to his own office, had a joint responsibility; departments were not then separated so distinctly as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was often one minister more influential than the others, who may be regarded as a sort of first minister, though he had no such dependence on colleagues, or on parliamentary support, as the prime minister of modern times.

The principal ministers were, the Lord Treasurer, Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Secretaries, Attorney and Solicitor, and the Admiral, who presided over the Navy Board.

Sir William Cecil, created Lord Burleigh in 1571, was Elizabeth's principal minister from 1558 till his death forty years later. As the Council and the ministers were appointed by the Crown, they remained in office as long as the sovereign chose, which under Elizabeth in most cases meant for life: thus they acquired a knowledge and skill not possible under the system of continual changes practised in the fifteenth, or the twentieth, century. The Tudor sovereigns exercised their personal direction of both foreign policy and home affairs through their ministers, giving general instructions to the chief officers and consulting personally with them. Elizabeth, especially, kept a very close control of negotiations with foreign

powers, and may almost be said to have been her own "foreign minister."

But the Privy Council, though it ranked as the first, was not the only, ministerial body; the Tudors used, with signal success, a number of parallel councils.

(1) The *STAR CHAMBER*, erected under Henry VII, as already described.

(2) The *COUNCIL OF THE MARCHES OF WALES*. This was an old Council, but from the accession of Henry VII its scope was greatly enlarged. The old earldom of March, once the Mortimer dignity, having come to Richard III, was annexed to the Crown by Henry VII, and the extinction of feudal lawlessness and privileges was practically accomplished under the Council by the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. The execution of Buckingham (1521), whose real power lay in his lordship of Brecon, was a part of the process. A series of Acts, culminating in the Act of Union of 1536 (supplemented by a few later statutes), extinguished many feudal survivals and united Wales with England, and members were henceforth summoned to parliament.

The "shiring" of Wales was completed in 1543. The shires were subdivided into Hundreds, and the machinery of local courts, Justices, juries, assizes, etc., was provided for. This did not work very well. The English local, or shire, system rested on the assumption that justices and juries would decide fairly. But the Welsh officials habitually favoured their kin, and juries would not convict prisoners however clear the evidence; thievery was more rampant than ever when the prompt, if brutal, feudal lords were superseded. Hence the *Council* had to act, and to its energy, first, under stern, even relentless, presidents, such as Bishop Rowland Lee, then under the just and merciful Sir Henry Sidney (1559-1586), was due a steady improvement in order until the Council was abolished in 1641.

The Council of Wales used to sit as the Prince of Wales' court at Ludlow or Bewdley, with much state, in the time of Prince Arthur, and, for a couple of years, in the name of little Princess Mary (1525), but after this it acted, like the Star Chamber, in virtue of supreme powers delegated to it by the Crown. Lee was long remembered by his decree that in the law-court the Welsh must be content with one surname instead of a string of "aps."

(3) THE *COUNCIL OF THE NORTH* was given its permanent form after the Pilgrimage of Grace.¹ It usually sat at York. Its prime functions were to keep order in the northern counties and to direct military and diplomatic relations with Scotland whenever these went beyond the local Border business which formed the sphere of the military Wardens of the Marches. Secondly, the Council of the North had charge of many local matters, such as the appointment

¹ See the illuminating account in *The King's Council in the North*, R. R. Reid, 1921.

of Justices and other officials, or complaints of oppression and suits about landholding or rents, much like the Star Chamber in London. It could also deal with prices, wages and rents, and made many regulations about commerce, much like the Privy Council in London. Like the Star Chamber, it was a tribunal to which the poor and the oppressed could appeal with hope of being protected against the powerful, but it does not seem always to have had the high repute for fairness which the Star Chamber earned under the Tudors, probably because its first concern was always to strengthen the Crown against local disaffection.

There were also special courts (*a*) for the Duchy of Lancaster and Earldom of Chester, which under Elizabeth sat at Manchester, the bishop of Chester being its chief and hard-worked officer; (*b*) for the Duchy of Cornwall; (*c*) for Calais, to which Henry VIII delegated (1529) large powers with definite instructions, but from 1536 members for the town were summoned to parliament, another instance of Henry's consolidating policy.

Next to these great Councils the Tudors used very thoroughly the system of LOCAL GOVERNMENT which already existed and which they developed still further. Judges of Assize regularly held sessions in the County Courts (or shire courts), and the sheriffs were responsible for carrying out their decrees. To these were added (from 1549) Lords-Lieutenant for special military services, perhaps in imitation of the Vice-admirals of seaboard shires who had been appointed from at least the early fifteenth century. The Justices of the Peace regularly held sessions, every quarter, in the principal towns of their county, and on them, in their Quarter Sessions, many duties were placed, to which Elizabeth's government continually added. Practically, they were charged with seeing that laws were made known and were carried out.

The mayors and corporations of boroughs still possessed their medieval powers and duties, though they were only too anxious to suffer a good many to fall into disuse, but they could not shirk the orders which were frequently sent to them by the Privy Council. They had to proclaim and see carried out new Acts of parliament, or the special orders which were continually issued by the Council in temporary crises, *e. g.* as to permission or restraint of travelling abroad, export of this or that class of goods to this or that country, repair of fortifications, selection of a quota of soldiers, victualling of ships, apprehension of robbers or vagrants, quarantine or isolation for the plague, special customs duties, etc. They had also to see to the collection of subsidies, and to elections of members of parliament, and, generally speaking, were responsible for the orderly framework of life in their town, as Justices were for the county.

But the cities and boroughs did not by any means then contain the mass of the population. Those thriving villages which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were already developing other

business than agriculture alone, were now small towns, but, not being incorporated, had only the village or parish organisation. Other villages besides had an increasing population. The Tudors made little difference betwixt city and country so far as obedience to the law and provision for national defence and prosperity went, and they looked for some local authority to carry out among farmers and peasantry the regulations made by the Crown, the parliament or the Council. This authority they found either in the Justices of the Peace or in the Church organisation of the PARISH, for the ancient *Hundred* had long ago almost vanished before the feudal *manor*, and *manors* now survived as hardly more than bits of the old-fashioned agricultural system, and embraced little more than the small estates belonging to the old Halls, now overshadowed by new homes of rich men, carved out of monastic property, just as many of the old *Common-fields* were now diminished and intersected by enclosed meadows and farm-lands, and by new parks and sheep-walks, all the property of individuals, often of new owners by whom ancient customs were apt to be ignored.

But parish boundaries were not affected by changing ownership, so that the parish was still a unit and it still had its officers—its rector (or vicar), its churchwardens, clerk, sexton, and probably its beadle, schoolmaster, and bellringer. To an age which had seen church-lands made crown-lands and then sold for private property, which had seen the pope's authority replaced by the king's, and the king acting in ecclesiastical affairs by means of laymen, there could be nothing surprising in finding the parish burdened with the secular business of investigating suspicious strangers, erecting stocks and setting drunkards or beggars therein, collecting money to support an old soldier or the deserving poor, or to repair a bridge, or a sea-wall, or the roads, and all manner of other pressing business necessary or desirable for local needs, some of which in pre-Reformation times had been done by ecclesiastical foundations, and much merely left undone. No one distinguished clearly between the religious and the other aspects of life. When, therefore, Tudor legislation grappled with the problem of destitution and vagabondage, it was on the parish and the Justices that the new responsibilities were placed. Thomas Cromwell had ordered a register to be kept in each parish church of the baptisms, marriages and burials there (an order which produced great indignation, as an inquisitorial proceeding which might foreshadow taxation). This made it possible to refer a person to his native parish, or to the parish in which he had lived, and it might form, also, some rough basis for an estimate of population and property.

The churchwardens, who originally (as their name shows) were the guardians of the church, were elected by a meeting of the adult parishioners, who met in the vestry (vestment-room) and came therefore to be called 'the Vestry.' Henry VIII and Cromwell had laid upon them the duty of seeing that the fittings and the services of

the church were altered in accordance with the law : they had to procure the new books, or take away the old vestments, and if the vicar did not keep up with the changing law, it was for the wardens to repair to the bishop, or to the Justices, with a complaint. The churchwardens had to provide funds for the things ordered, and for some time the old system of voluntary subscription sufficed. But there were always persons who shirked their share, and when the confiscations under Edward VI had seized on chantry and gild endowments, churches and schools were reduced to dire straits, while, at the same time, donors were profoundly discouraged. The wardens, then, had to levy a *rate* : a proceeding which was not, in the sixteenth century, new, whether in town or country, but which had not until then very often been necessary. A *rate* implied, first finding out the total sum needed—*e. g.* to re-roof the nave of the church, or to clear the dyke of a marsh, or repair a bridge—and then dividing the sum among the householders and landowners with strict regard to ability to pay. A simple plan was to charge the squire a shilling and every other householder a penny, multiplying if this did not produce enough—three shillings and three pennies. But a more elaborate plan was usually preferred, and residents and owners of property were then rated upon the computed value of their property and income. The wardens had to lay their proposal before the general meeting of the vestry, and when it was voted it became lawfully binding upon all the inhabitants, and the wardens had to keep the accounts and show them to the vestry. The Justices had to decide how much of a road or a dyke each parish must attend to. The system was in perfect harmony with the natural habits of the English, and the only unfair point was that parishes differed so widely in wealth and needs that one might be rated heavily while its neighbour got off lightly.

A distinctive feature of Tudor governance was the close connection between the head and limbs of the system. What Elizabeth outlined with Cecil he, or the Council, worded in brief, clear orders which were despatched by letter to County Lieutenants, Sheriffs and Judges, by whom the orders were passed to Mayors, Justices of the Peace, or churchwardens. The Justices had to learn whether the orders were carried out and to fine defaulting officials. To give an example, when the Isle of Wight had to be fortified, the governor was bidden to see what must be built; two earls, at the same time, were told to send as much timber, from Sussex and Surrey, as the governor required, and the marquis of Winchester to send workmen from Hants and Dorset. Each got his orders at the same time, and was responsible to the Council for his own part of the undertaking.

A great deal of work fell upon unpaid officials. Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace had always had to work at their own expense; Mayors and Corporations could settle the matter with their borough or city : churchwardens were voluntary. It was

taken for granted, as in medieval times, that property carried responsibility and that the wealthy must work for the community; and since, owing to the constitutional rule that taxation was the sphere of parliament, the nation habitually refused to be taxed, it was only this unwritten rule of unpaid service which kept the nation governed.

In the sphere of the highest national service, Elizabeth carried out this principle in a novel manner which has often, with scant justice, been called *mean*. A great part of the wealth of the country was now in the hands of great families, old or new, enriched by confiscated properties under Henry VIII and Edward VI. They had secured the fortunes, usually without having performed any public service, and Elizabeth now turned to their heirs to render the services. There was much justice in requiring the duke of Norfolk to negotiate Scottish treaties, or the marquis of Winchester to see to the timber supply of the New Forest; in sending the earl of Sussex on embassies, and the earl of Essex to manage Ireland; in making the earl of Huntingdon preside over the Council of the North, and inflicting on the earl of Shrewsbury the charge of Mary, Queen of Scots. A portion of their expenses was paid, the rest they had to advance from their own revenues, which they could certainly afford better than the empty Exchequer. They naturally disliked their arduous tasks, and wrote pathetic appeals to be released from them. But the government had no other means of acting and did not intend to be harsh. When Essex died, worn out, in Ireland the queen and her ministers were genuinely surprised and grieved, and the measure of their feeling is the extraordinary favour shown by them all to his young son, the earl of Elizabeth's later years.

FINANCE was, in the sixteenth century, as ever, the grand problem of government. Henry VIII and Edward VI obtained as much as possible from confiscations, but Mary and Elizabeth had to turn elsewhere. Even the governments of Henry and Edward had had recourse to the old system of borrowing, chiefly from foreign capitalists, and of trying to avoid repayment; finally, the coinage had been debased, and general confusion in all money matters resulted: prices rose, and everyone felt poorer: foreign merchants would not give good silver against English bad silver, and, besides, they suspected their debtors of not intending to pay, and so the *exchange* was heavily against England, which meant that merchants lost, and for the same reasons the interest charged by foreign financiers on the loans made to the Crown rose higher and higher. Mary's reign was the worst period, in spite of her marriage with the wealthy sovereign of Spain and Flanders, for her Council had little understanding of practical matters, and persons whom Gardiner or Pole approved for their political or religious attitude were not necessarily wise merchants and bankers. When Elizabeth succeeded, she found debts from Henry's and Edward's reign as well as those incurred by Mary, and they took her fifteen years to pay off. But

the payment was considered a remarkable achievement and it greatly raised the credit of the country.

Elizabeth reverted to the practice of Somerset and of Cromwell before him, and empowered eminent London merchants to act for the government. Among them the name of Sir Thomas Gresham is the best known. He belonged to a family of financiers and merchants, and, unscrupulous and grasping as he was personally, his comprehension of money matters in time made the queen and government solvent. She employed him almost like a permanent Chancellor of the Exchequer and head of the Bank of England in one, and it was partly his advice which prompted her remarkable action, in the first years of her reign, of restoring the coinage. By minting a great quantity of plate, the private property of the Crown, she obtained a sufficient supply of good coin to enable the rest to be called in and re-coined, as far as it would go, to the same standard. The effect upon commerce and contentment was astonishing: the Irish Pale even burst into song in its gratitude:

" Let bonfires shine in every place !
The gold and silver that was so base
That no man would endure it sca(r)ce,
Is now new coined with her own face,
And made go current in Ireland ! "

But the lack of a regular revenue had dangerous effects. It was largely responsible for the over-great caution of Elizabeth and Burleigh in the war. When, in the year after the defeat of the Armada, a jubilant parliament would only propose taxes covering just a quarter of the money already spent on the fleet, it was impossible to adopt the forward policy wisely urged by the naval men. And when the recovery of Spain from its defeat forced the government to take further action our fleets were fitted out on the astonishing plan of a joint stock company. The queen, ministers, merchants, admiral and captains subscribed the necessary funds as shareholders, and expected plunder enough to be brought home to cover the cost and pay a dividend. This ignoble policy was a principal cause of the want of success in the naval operations of the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, and the blame is less hers than parliament's. Other methods of supplementing the meagre revenue afforded by a rich and stingy nation were to raise loans by compulsion and to sell Crown lands and commercial monopolies to individuals.

The *loans* were supposed to be voluntary, but the rich land-owners who received notices that they were expected to lend so much to her Majesty could not really refuse, and as Elizabeth was a good re-payer and they understood the necessity, there was no resistance.

The *sales* were of the nature of sacrificing capital to defray current expenses, but no one cared if the Crown impoverished itself, after

Burleigh's death. *Monopolies*, however, created fierce discontent, for the speculators, some of whom were court favourites, like Raleigh, tried to get rich by raising prices enormously, and this produced the most acute difference which ever occurred between the queen and her people and parliament.¹

An artificial rise in prices was peculiarly hard, because an unavoidable rise had lately taken place over all Europe in this century, due partly to the supplies of silver and gold being brought by the Spaniards from America, and the queen's government had for years taken such steps as seemed possible (1) to level up wages, and (2) to help the nation to develop its own resources. That wages should not be left wholly to local custom or to accident—which meant their being settled by the employers—was a principle early adopted by the Council, and a natural corollary from the older principle that prices should be 'fair' and ought to be fixed by a wise authority. In the Middle Ages that authority had been the gilds; but the gilds had never been able to understand the numerous and complicated questions involved in export and import trade, and this only the Council was in a position to do. Accordingly the regulations for foreign trade were made by the Council: duties were altered, permission to export was given or withheld, sometimes (as had been the medieval way) in order to suit foreign policy, but oftener to suit the interests of the nation in manufactures. Thus, when the religious wars abroad began, the Kent and Sussex gun-founders were forbidden to sell guns to foreign buyers without licence, while the Hanse merchants found extra duties laid upon them to prevent them from underselling Englishmen. The prices of important commodities, especially corn, were also increasingly regulated by the Council under Elizabeth, for in order to prevent scarcity the export of corn from England was only permitted when its price fell low, but was then allowed in order to encourage landholders to grow plenty. Speculators were not given a free hand, as was the case both earlier and later.²

With regard to local prices and wages, the most impartial authority the Council could find was that of the Justices of the Peace, and it was made their duty to settle a wage, every year, for all kinds of occupations, which should vary according to the price of corn. Wages, of course, varied also with local conditions, but the Council (in the North, the Council of the North) kept a supervision over the Justices, and it was possible for complaints to be made against them.

Throughout, the action of the Tudors and their Council was directed by the principle of keeping the State strong. This was different from the medieval principle of securing fairness between

¹ See below, p. 178.

² Rents are believed to have risen fourfold in the eastern counties by 1589, and wheat sold for 16/- the quarter, nearly £5 of modern money, if the *mark*, 13/4, really was equal to £4 in 1905; i.e. a penny was worth sixpence.

classes (buyers and sellers), in that it was dictated rather by external conditions than by local convenience at home. If the Elizabethan government wanted English towns to make ropes, it was that the navy might not be at the mercy of foreign importers, and in order to obtain raw hemp and to encourage its working at home, the Council made customs regulations, or gave bonuses, which individual importing merchants might think unfair. What the ministers regarded was the benefit to the nation as a whole, and to them, as to the mass of the people, the argument of the Good of the State seemed unanswerable.

XV

ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND EUROPE (IV) (1558-1568)

THE forty-five years of Elizabeth form one of the decisive periods in English history, for then were determined the lines upon which, for three centuries, the nation was to pursue its course, in the moral and intellectual, as well as in the political, social and commercial spheres.

Elizabeth ruled at a time when the nation was menaced by greater dangers, external and internal, than had been known since 1066. For the first time since the coming of the Normans a great military Power, with ports and bases just across the Channel, aimed at the conquest of Britain, and though the Spanish king had not enjoyed so long a period of peaceful penetration as had the Norman duke, he was more overwhelmingly strong in troops, ships and riches, compared with the resources of England. For the power of Spain had been greatly strengthened during the long career of Charles V, and Philip II, though he did not succeed to the entire Hapsburg dominions, could count upon unhesitating support from his uncle and cousin, Ferdinand II and Maximilian II, who ruled successively in Austria and the Empire. On the Low Countries the Spanish rule, despotic and inquisitorial, seemed firmly riveted. Spanish navies dominated the seas, inexhaustible supplies of gold and silver from the New World filled the king's treasury, and Spanish troops were now believed to be irresistible. Christendom had never before known a Power so overwhelmingly stronger than the whole of the rest of Europe, and the religious Head of a large part of Christendom gave his moral support to the mighty despot who honestly believed himself to be the especial tool and champion of God. It followed that the rest of Christendom, the reforming part, was the king of Spain's enemy and prey, which need hope for no tolerance. Philip II conscientiously believed absolute destruction to be its only lawful destiny.

But at the moment of Elizabeth's accession the menace of Spain was scarcely understood, except by the queen herself. To most it seemed that the king of France "bestrode the realm, one foot in Calais and one in Scotland," while to oppose him England possessed hardly more than her small navy: there was no army, the coast defences were in ruins, and the exchequer empty; the national

reputation had sunk low under defeat and the recent loss of Calais, the equivalent then of Gibraltar now.

At home, the country was divided in religious sentiment, suffering from the dislocation, speculation, and disturbance of commerce resulting from vast transfers of landed property, and was swarming with idle beggars. Little justice was administered, for the Justices and officers of the law were too often unfit for their posts. The personal position of the queen herself was doubtful. The last of her family, with scarcely a relative on the Boleyn side who could fitly be drawn from rural obscurity, she was considered by many, abroad and at home, as both heretical and illegitimate, and therefore no lawful sovereign. The effect of this opinion was visible at once, when the dauphin of France and his wife Mary, the queen of Scotland, were proclaimed king and queen of England and Ireland, and exhibited the arms of England as frequently and as publicly as possible. For if Elizabeth were not the rightful sovereign, then Mary, granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, assuredly was.

To make head against so many dangers, Elizabeth could rely on her own courage and skill, upon the loyal support of a few wise, but not yet well-known men, and upon the enthusiasm of the greater part of the nation. It was her proudest, as her truest, boast, that she was herself wholly English, and that she lived and ruled for England's sake. "Ye may, peradventure, after us have a wiser prince," she told parliament, "but a more loving towards you ye shall never have." That the commonwealth might ever be in safety, she said, she was never without care.

The people had already formed their estimate of Elizabeth's character. They knew that the daughter of Anne Boleyn could not be a papalist; they knew that she had already experienced neglect and disappointment, and for some time serious danger. During the last year of Mary's life, while Philip prevented Mary from imprisoning her sister, Elizabeth had been quietly courted by a number of gentlemen who were looking forward, and they found her friendly and generous, prudent, just, extremely well informed, and endowed with a winning charm of manner—"a spirit of incantation," as one of them said. It was observed that she could converse with foreigners in French, Italian or Latin, with perfect fluency; that she was an excellent shot with the bow, and skilful in music and embroidery. Her graceful and dignified bearing showed to advantage as she rode, walked or danced. She possessed the proverbial royal memory and the equally uncommon gift of apt and racy speech, whereby she often endeared herself to numbers in a moment or two. "If ever any person had either the gift or the style to win the hearts of the people it was this queen . . . in coupling mildness with dignity as she did, and in stately stooping to the meanest sort. . . . Her eye was set on one, her ear listened to another, her judgment ran

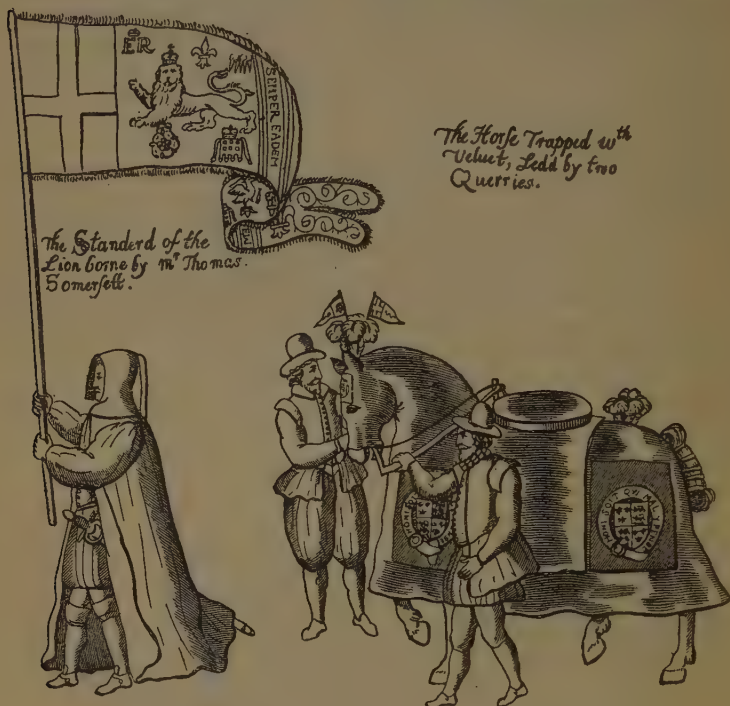
upon a third, to a fourth she addressed her speech,—her spirit seemed to be everywhere and yet so entire in itself as it seemed to be nowhere else.” Spanish and Italian witnesses could hardly restrain their disgust at the greetings she bestowed upon the multitude,—“exceeding in my opinion the bounds of gravity and decorum.” That large part of the nation which resented foreign interference and had lately discovered that this was involved in the papal supremacy, hailed her with enthusiasm: “A princess” (said an orator at York) “of no mingled blood of Spaniard or stranger, but born mere English here among us, therefore most natural unto us, . . . brought up—that may be of most comfort and joy to us all—in the sincere knowledge and following of God’s Holy Word . . . so godly disposed as without revenge she patiently suffered so much malice and wrong.”

Elizabeth knew that her real safety lay with the people, as she told the Spanish ambassador when he laid claim on her gratitude. And she knew how to indicate to the people her concurrence in popular views. As she made her state entry through the decorated streets of London, a child-angel was let down from an arch to present to her an English Bible: the queen clasped it with looks of joy, saying, that she thanked the City more for that gift than for all the cost they had done upon her. She received with equal graciousness the Recorder’s gift of a thousand marks, and the posies of flowers poor women pressed forward to bring her. When the monks whom Mary had reinstated at Westminster dutifully came to meet her, bearing their ecclesiastical tapers, she cried, “Away with these torches. We can see well enough.” When Bishop Oglethorpe proceeded, in the Abbey, to the typical ceremony of the Elevation of the Host, she quietly withdrew to her private room: there was nothing overt or decisive, but all London and the Home counties were at once convinced where her Majesty’s heart lay: while, on the other hand, Philip II could be informed that crucifixes and tapers were retained in the queen’s private chapel, and he was consulted on the possibility of her marriage with an Austrian archduke, his nephew—a match which he was so anxious to procure that he kept the fierce Pope Paul IV from excommunicating her.

In this manner did Elizabeth make weapons of her very weakness, and during the first critical years of her reign obtained Spanish protection against France, by the inclusion of England in the peace made between Philip and Henri II, and a suspension of the papal support of Mary of Scotland. The rivalry of Spain and France made Philip averse from seeing Mary replace Elizabeth so long as he could hope to influence Elizabeth himself. With this hope the queen and Cecil contrived to delude him for ten years, while they prepared for the struggle which must come, whether it should be with Spain or with Scotland and France. To gain this respite the queen used three weapons—negotiations for her own

marriage, encouragement of the hindrances which hampered her three enemies at home, and manipulation of the Franco-Spanish enmity.

All Elizabeth's ministers and subjects were, very naturally, most anxious that she should marry at once, that there might be undoubted heirs to the throne. Only she herself hesitated. There was no obvious English candidate, and to choose any nobleman—Norfolk,



THE ROYAL STANDARD.

From Procession at the Funeral of Queen Elizabeth (cf. Macaulay, Spanish Armada).

Arundel, or still worse, Leicester—for such an honour would certainly fill court and country with jealousies and feuds. To choose a foreign prince would involve England in continental quarrels, for she would then be definitely ranged on one side or another; nor would any husband stand aside and leave the government to Elizabeth and Cecil. If there were no children the queen would simply suffer eclipse with no advantages, but greater dangers; while even the birth of an heir might not strengthen her position, as, in a few years' time, was shown by the example of Scotland,

where Mary's deposition by a "regency" was made feasible by the existence of the infant James. In the meantime, so long as her hand was not bestowed it was a lure to coax to tolerance, and even friendliness, both the Spanish-Austrian connection, on the one hand, and on the other, the German Lutherans with their Swedish and Danish allies. Elizabeth might well consider that to risk the present for the sake of a distant future would be foolish; perhaps, considering the painful warnings afforded by Tudor matrimonial adventures, it was not surprising if the last Tudor should look with dread on the prospect. At all events, the results justified the queen's policy. But in her own times her resolution to remain single appeared extraordinary. It was unheard of, in an age when no woman appeared in public or was thought of any consequence until she was married. For a queen to deal personally with ministers, envoys and nobles, to decide questions of religion, finance or war, to entertain matrimonial proposals in her own unaided and unprotected person, was staggering. Mary Tudor had never adopted such unbecoming proceedings; Mary Stewart, who did, failed, and became a byword; in France, Catherine de' Medici, queen-mother and acting ruler as she was, veiled her activities. Even the famous Isabella of Castile had had her husband constantly at her side. But the English, though at first disappointed and angry, were not shocked, and soon came to regard Elizabeth as a heroine. "I have already joined myself in marriage to an husband," she replied to the House of Commons, which petitioned her to wed, "namely the Kingdom of England" (and showed her coronation ring), "and do not upbraid me with miserable lack of children," she added, "for every one of you, and as many as are Englishmen, are children and kinsmen to me."

Elizabeth made full use of the feminine privileges of her peculiar position. She was shy, changeable and whimsical, dignified, prudent or indignant, in bewildering succession. At one time she professed to have fallen in love with a portrait, at another she was content, she said, to have it set upon her tombstone "that a queen, having reigned so many years a virgin, so died." One day she could agree with a Romanist, or Lutheran, or Calvinist husband, on another she had conscientious scruples over the tiniest point of difference. It was always doubtful, on any one occasion, whether she was really personally timid or was playing a calculating game, till the exasperated Spanish ambassador exclaims, "This woman is possessed by ten thousand devils, and she professes to me that she wishes she were a nun praying in a convent cell!" By the time the king of Spain was undeceived, Scotland and France had become, the former unwilling, the latter unable, to attack England.

Within both those kingdoms, as also within Philip's Low Countries, there were rebellious forces, which the English queen and her ministers used with extreme skill to hamper the unfriendly sovereigns. Scotland was in the curious condition of having sent its queen to

France, in order to save her and the national independence from the English grasp, and now, eleven years later, wishing to reverse the consequences. For in that brief period the evangelical reforming movement, of which Knox is the most famous figure, had swept the southern part of the kingdom with successful vigour and had combined the native fierce love of liberty with a devotion to a stern and narrow religious creed. Liberty now seemed to the reformed Scots to be threatened, not by the English, but by the French; their young queen herself was practically French and certainly Romanist, and in no country in Europe was her beauty, charm and brilliance likely to have less influence.

In France, Mary's young husband, François II, died in 1560, and the Guise influence waned for a time. Her mother, the dowager queen of Scotland, Mary of Guise, was dying. She had held out bravely against the Scottish party of reform and rebellion, and had brought over French troops. The rebels were helped in their resistance by Elizabeth, who sent to their aid an army across the Border and a fleet into the Forth. The French troops were at last obliged to surrender, and Elizabeth, asking for no payment or equivalent concessions, made with the victorious Scots the Treaty of Edinburgh (1561), which stipulated that Queen Mary should relinquish the style of "Queen of England," so that when the Scottish queen refused to ratify the treaty, Elizabeth could treat her as an avowed enemy.

SCOTLAND

Mary, "Queen of Scots," returned to her own kingdom in 1561, like Elizabeth, a childless queen whose hand was eagerly sought by many suitors. Nine years younger than Elizabeth, extremely beautiful, and with a fascinating charm which fired men with passionate and romantic devotion, to their and her own ruin, she was possessed by a courage as invincible as Elizabeth's and a temper at least as haughty, but she was without self-control or patience.

Elizabeth, on the other hand, with far less than Mary's beauty and charm, had a power of attraction which kept hard-headed men devoted to her service for a lifetime of work. Mary's enemies were active and implacable, Elizabeth's were half-hearted or afraid.

From the first Mary treated Elizabeth with an air of superiority; her letters had a touch of insolence. Elizabeth replied with punctilious correctness, and as Mary's difficulties increased, partly owing to her own tactless handling of the Scots, Elizabeth was seen to occupy almost the position of an arbiter between the Scottish factions. The principal leader of the party of reform and independence was an illegitimate son of James V, James, earl of Moray. Behind him stood Knox and "*the Congregation*," which was the representative assembly of the reformed Scottish Church, far more influential, henceforth, than the Scottish parliament, which it often practically

superseded. There was also, of course, a Roman-catholic party which leaned upon France, as the Protestant party did upon England, and several aristocratic factions. In 1565 Mary won a seeming advantage by bestowing her hand upon her cousin, the handsome Lord Darnley, grandson of Margaret Tudor, and so uniting two hereditary claims to the English succession: her own lords, her French relatives and the king of Spain were alike delighted, and Elizabeth saw herself menaced by that foreign Roman-catholic alliance she always dreaded.

Fortunately for Elizabeth, Mary's brilliant marriage turned out in a few months to be a calamitous failure. Darnley's character was composed of nearly all the faults and failings possible in a youth of nineteen, and Mary despised the husband she had selected. He was so weak that the lords of the Protestant faction were able to use him as a check upon their queen and her policy, which was to combine a Romanist league against Elizabeth. Darnley was easily brought to be jealous of her secretary, Riccio, an Italian who seems to have been a secret diplomatic agent from the Pope, passing as a musician, and who was foolish enough to display his influence ostentatiously. Darnley himself led a violent attack on the queen's apartments, where Riccio was brutally murdered (1566). Mary's position, however, seemed strengthened by the birth of her son James, and she won over Darnley to desert his late friends and place himself in her hands. But within the year Darnley himself was murdered, almost publicly, by Lord Bothwell, whom Mary married three months later. Hereupon the greater part of the Scots, including all the Protestant party, took up arms, and a fierce civil war broke out, resulting in Mary's defeat, imprisonment and deposition in favour of her infant son, who was proclaimed King as James VI, and in whose name the Protestant majority governed Scotland, with Moray as Regent.

FRANCE

While Scotland had thus ceased, at least for the moment, to be dangerous to Elizabeth, France offered a harder problem. The severities and perfidy of Henri II and then of his widow, Catherine de' Medici, who ruled in the name of her son Charles IX, caused the rebellion of the Huguenots, or French Calvinists. Their strength lay (a) in a numerous group of feudal nobles, who, like the German princes, claimed a right to choose the faith which was to be professed in their own fiefs, and (b) in a citizen class, who, like the Swiss of Zurich or Geneva, claimed that each congregation was a unit in itself and entitled to decide its own profession of faith and to choose its own pastor. But the Huguenots, though the greater part of the men of ability and probity had joined their ranks, were decidedly in the minority, and in the all-important city of Paris they were intensely unpopular. The

French reforming movement, therefore, could not and did not claim to be a national movement and to set up a united National Church, but was a protest against any universal or national Church, and the Huguenots naturally adopted the characteristic Calvinistic system, a union of congregations. Their system, therefore, was not at all in harmony with the English principle of returning to the Early Church, as defined by Henry VIII and now maintained by Elizabeth, and she only reluctantly agreed to give them help (1562) in order to hinder an attack upon herself by the French government.

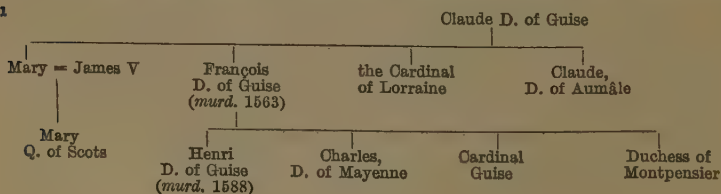
Feeling uncertain whether the Huguenots would or could perform all their promises, she insisted that they should place Havre in English hands, as a base and a place of retreat for her own troops, if necessary; but the proceeding caused the Huguenots to be considered by the French generally as traitors. By one of the sudden changes of parties and policy which in this century characterised France, the royal party came to temporary terms with the Huguenots, in order to attack the English, only a remnant of whom, plague-stricken within Havre, contrived to escape, bringing with them the plague, which devastated London.

Thenceforth Elizabeth distrusted the Huguenot party, and followed the policy of keeping on such terms with the French government as to prevent it from joining Spain against England, a policy which she pursued by tortuous methods adapted to the intrigues and continual changes among the French parties, where, besides the Huguenots, there were two Roman-catholic sections, those of Catherine de' Medici (anti-Spanish) and of the Guises (pro-Spanish).¹ These three French parties hated and fought each other incessantly for about thirty-six years (1562-1598), and the Guises, therefore, were unable to spare assistance for their niece, Mary of Scotland.

When, therefore, Mary succeeded, by the help of a few devoted gentlemen and servants, in escaping from Lochleven Castle, no French aid was ready for her, and in the battle of Langside, near Glasgow, her supporters were totally defeated. Rather than again endure imprisonment she fled, in desperation, to the nearest available refuge, crossed the Solway Firth in a fishing boat, and claimed the protection of the dismayed Governor of Carlisle (May 1568).

From this time Mary's fortunes depended, not upon the French,

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but upon the Spanish monarch, who thought to utilise her, as a claimant, against both Elizabeth and Catherine de' Medici.

In France, both the Huguenots and the court party were compelled, by their dread of Spain, to conciliate England, and both wanted to make a real alliance. To this Elizabeth was afraid to pledge herself until one or other party had become the ruling power, and she seldom permitted any military help to be sent. But it was otherwise in maritime affairs : the sea was still generally regarded as affording more latitude for partisan action than the land, and since the enterprising French marine was mostly Huguenot, English and French sailors treated each other as allies and combined against Spanish ships, or against their Italian or German allies, with brilliant success and much profit.

XVI

THE RISING OF THE NORTH AND THE PLOTS FOR MARY (1569-1587)

THE arrival of Mary at Carlisle brought the storm centre to England and produced that crisis which Elizabeth had hoped to avoid altogether.

In spite of the Council at York, life in the northern counties was still largely feudal in custom and Romanist in sentiment. Elizabeth had been acknowledged from necessity, but now the arrival of the next heir, a beautiful and gallant queen supported by all the authority of the pope, with whom they would fain be reconciled, appealed both to the chivalry and to the practical calculations of lords, gentry and commoners. The earls of Northumberland and Westmorland hastened to greet the royal refugee, and it was clear that the danger of rebellion was imminent. Elizabeth and the Council hurried their trustiest men to the North. Sir Francis Knollys posted to Carlisle, with Elizabeth's most correct greetings, Hunsdon held Berwick, Forster, the Marches, Scrope, Carlisle. Sir George Bowes had a small but loyal force in Yorkshire, Sussex marched to York with such troops as could be called up at once, Derby kept Lancashire quiet, while reinforcements were got ready in all the midland counties, two or three hundred for each shire.

Mary took up a lofty attitude, almost like a sovereign in her own kingdom. She upbraided Scrope for daring to restrict the goings and comings of her retinue and visitors, and Knollys for negotiating with her rebellious half-brother, Moray, now Regent of Scotland:—"You see," interjected Sir Francis, "he doth govern." Mary was, in fact, playing a game of 'bluff,' reckoning to the utmost on the hesitation the English noblemen felt in placing restraints on a woman and a queen, and on the hesitation which the English queen felt in supporting rebels against their sovereign, or revealing her distrust of her own nobles. She also supposed that she could play on the dread which the English surely must entertain of foreign invasion. "A notable woman," reported Sir Francis Knollys to the Council, "showing a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant [*i. e.* jesting] and to be very familiar. She sheweth a great desire to be avenged of her enemies . . . for victory's sake, pains and perils seemeth pleasant to her, and in respect of victory, wealth and all things seemeth to her contemptuous and vile. Now what is to be done with such a lady and princess, or whether



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

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such a princess and lady be to be nourished in one's bosom, or whether it be good to halt and dissemble with such a lady, I refer to your judgment." He described further her haughty demand to be either escorted to France or restored to Scotland by English arms. "'Well,' said she, 'I will not be any longer delayed, for I will require the queen, my good sister, that either she will let me go into France, or that she will put me into Dumbarton, unless she will hold me as a prisoner. For I am sure that her Highness will not of her honour put me into my Lord of Moray's hands. And,' saith she, 'I will seek aid forthwith at other princes' hands that will help me, namely, the French king and the king of Spain . . . and,' saith she, 'I have made great wars in Scotland, and I pray God I make no troubles in other realms also.' And parting from us she said, 'That if we did detain her as a prisoner we should have much ado with her.' " Knollys, who wanted his government to take more vigorous action, adds that he heartily joined "in that prayer that God would defend England from such troubles as, through our gentleness, might by her attempts arise. . . . But alas, how can we be safe from troubles as long as our tender halting on both legs before God and the world doth hinder our friends and strengthen our enemies?" Fortunately the *halting* was not only on the one side. The conspiracy which the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were weaving took some time to mature. Scrope carried off Mary and her retinue to his own lonely castle of Bolton, whence Elizabeth transferred her to the charge of the earl of Shrewsbury (Talbot), who kept her safely, for a long time, in his castle of Sheffield, or at Buxton, Coventry or Tutbury.¹

Northumberland had already shown his ill-will to Elizabeth's government by hindering the mining newly begun by the Crown in the Lake district for metals needed for munitions. Westmorland had done the like on the Tees. The latter was brother-in-law to the duke of Norfolk, who had recently established himself in the North by favour of the government. As a strong Protestant, he had been awarded, with considerable injustice, the great barony and property of the Dacres, who were suspected of treasonable intentions. Norfolk, the only duke now left in England, and a kinsman of the queen, was favoured by her and courted by Cecil and the Council; he was extremely popular in London and the eastern counties, on account of his strongly Protestant professions; yet, being now left a widower, he listened eagerly to the suggestion of the earls that he might marry the Queen of Scots and with her mount the English throne. For this he was ready to restore England to the papal obedience and to welcome armed help from Alva, the notorious Spanish governor and persecutor of the Netherlands.

¹ A tiny private Prayer-book of Mary's still exists (in the Rylands Library, Manchester). On a blank page she has written her own prayer—" *Mon Dieu, Confondez mes ennemis.* "

By this time (1569) there was a quarrel brewing between Elizabeth and Philip II. The English envoy was expelled from Spain, English merchants in the Netherlands had been skilfully ruined, and, in the West Indies, Hawkins' expedition had been treacherously and cruelly attacked. Cecil and the Queen, therefore, retaliated by detaining some vessels, laden with money for Alva, which had been driven by stormy weather into English harbours. Elizabeth, understanding that the coin was a loan from Genoese bankers to the Spanish-Netherland government, "borrowed it" herself, quite to the satisfaction of the Genoese, but to the dire hindrance of Alva. Hence his readiness to take revenge, if only the English rebels could hold a good seaport into which he could safely bring his ships. But the passion of the Spanish generals for making war safely on Elizabeth proved more than once her salvation. Both Norfolk and Northumberland put off committing themselves, till the latter was, in November 1569, tricked by his determined wife (whose family owed everything to the Tudors) into appearing in armour at the head of his retinue, and so the rebellion was launched. Norfolk was in the act of mounting his horse to ride northwards, when he received the queen's command to come to her and prove his loyalty, and he was frightened into doing so. He was lodged in the Tower.

Action was slow and moderate on both sides. France and Germany would hardly have recognised such a form of civil war. Bowes did not see how he could get weapons from the Newcastle armourers without government warrants, nor Sussex how to get coal for his garrisons and his family without ready cash. He could not call out the militia against the rebels, he wrote, for lack of money, "for the country of Yorkshire never goeth to war but for wages."

On the other hand, the rebels had no clear plan of action. It was easy to restore the Latin Mass in the cathedrals of Durham and Ripon, and not much harder to obtain the surrender of some half-garrisoned castles. But it was long since war in England had turned on the mastery of castles, and for the necessary advance to the South, to rescue Mary from Tutbury Castle, the rebel earls mustered on Clifford Moor a force of nearly 6000 men. They were mostly "simple people without armour or weapon, rather shapes than matter," the acute Bowes reported. He flung himself into Barnard Castle and rejoiced to find it solemnly besieged for eleven days, while Sussex was energetically arraying troops at York, and Mary herself was conveyed from Tutbury to Coventry, where the citizens could be relied on to form a second and most determined bodyguard.

After their delay in securing the evacuation of Barnard Castle—Bowes marching out with the honours of war—the rebel earls did not know what to do, but retreated before Sussex into Durham, and then into Cumberland, whence, deserting their men, they fled across the Border, Westmorland to escape abroad, Northumberland,

eventually, to meet his fate on the scaffold. "God sendeth an evil-willed cow short horns," quoth Sir George Bowes.

The most critical movement of the Rising of the North was over before Christmas, and the rest of England had remained undisturbed. A traveller reported to Cecil that all the counties through which he had passed from London to Chester lay "in great wealth and quietness. Each man increaseth his own, and no degree dare offend the law. They pray for the queen with an universal voice and that peace may continue." A second movement broke out early in 1570, under Leonard Dacre, the rightful heir, according to Border custom, who had been dispossessed for Norfolk's sake, but it was suppressed, and no further disturbance ensued.

Indignant as Elizabeth was at the deliberate nature of the Rising, and alarmed as she was by its proof of the ease with which the appeal to religion and feudal feeling could rouse the Northern counties, she still was slow to punish the authors. She was always averse from bloodshed, and afraid to offend the great nobles. Norfolk was soon released; Northumberland's earldom was granted to his more prudent brother, others were allowed to escape abroad.¹ But an exhibition of vengeance was made in the counties. Rebels were hanged in every village, that the people might see the effect of rebellion, and this time the lesson was learnt.

The complete victory of the English government over the Northern rebels was disappointing to the king of Spain and the pope. It came at a time when the tyranny of Philip and Alva had roused in the Netherlands a determined effort for freedom, which attracted help from England, and the Spanish king concluded that, as Mary and the malcontents could not by themselves neutralise Elizabeth, it was worth his while to lend assistance. He was brought to this resolution reluctantly enough, for he had tried, with as much wiliness as Elizabeth herself, to avoid open war. But the provocations he had lately received, and the certainty that France was too deep in civil strife to be able to gain by Mary's success, if she should succeed, persuaded him that he might reap all the benefit himself.

The provocation was not all, nor chiefly, of Elizabeth's devising, but arose from conflicting interests in the New World. The king of Spain, for the sake of Spanish commerce, forbade any foreigners to trade with his settlements on the Spanish Main—*i. e.* the mainland of Central America. But Spanish merchants could not supply the needs of the garrisons and colonists there, who were anxious to get from French or English interlopers the supplies, and especially the

¹ The tragic picture of heroic Nortons martyred on the scaffold is fiction. Only two of the famous eight brothers were executed: old Norton went abroad, to plot against Elizabeth's life till his own peaceful death. The prudent son, as arranged, inherited the estates, and provided for the others.

slaves, which they needed. The most enterprising of the English was John Hawkins of Plymouth, who had begun a traffic in negroes, fetched by him from Africa for sale to the Spanish settlers. He came, in 1568, with three armed ships (one of them under Francis Drake) into the great Spanish port of S. Juan de Ulloa, and had begun the usual traffic when a Spanish treasure fleet arrived. Hawkins could easily have overcome and looted it, but as Spain and England were at peace and he knew the queen's anxiety to avoid a quarrel, he permitted it to enter, on a clear agreement that all should keep the peace. The Spaniards, having stowed away the treasure, then fell upon the English and massacred a great number. The remnant contrived, by great daring, to get away in the two smaller ships, and after strenuous adventures reached home. This perfidious cruelty burnt into the minds of Hawkins and Drake the conviction that Spain kept no promise, and that no choice lay before Englishmen but hard fighting or submission to her tyranny. They rejoiced, therefore, to learn on their return of the queen's seizure of the Genoese money and her assistance of the Netherlanders, and hoped for open war. But Elizabeth continued to negotiate till, in 1570, the Spanish decision was made.

Early in that year, Pope Pius V pronounced sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, declared her by divine authority deposed from the throne of England, called upon secular princes to carry out the ban, and declared all vows of allegiance made by her subjects to be null and void. The pope's intervention in English politics was, as usual, calamitous for his faithful flock in England. Henceforth, however loyal they really might be, neither the Queen and government, nor the general body of the people, dared place any trust in them. The papal decree that oaths might be taken which were to mean nothing destroyed confidence. There had as yet been little or no persecution under Elizabeth; for twelve years no one had been put to death in this country for his religion, an almost unique record for the Europe of that age, and many who were Romanists at heart were glad to be able to remain also loyal to their queen and country. But now Parliament took up the papal challenge, fear and indignation alike inspiring penal acts.

Pius' sentence of deposition was unnecessary for Philip's schemes, his position being that Elizabeth was illegitimate and therefore incapable of reigning, the rightful sovereign being Mary, Queen of Scots. But it was otherwise with the papal sanction of treachery and assassination, which to Philip, as to Catherine de' Medici, seemed peculiarly fit weapons against heretics, and he gave a pledge to English conspirators that as soon as the news of Elizabeth's death reached the Netherlands, Spanish troops should land to place Mary on the throne.

In consequence, conspiracies for murder and rebellion were incessant between this time and the sailing of the Armada: the most dangerous were Ridolfi's plot, 1571; the mission of the Jesuit

Parsons, 1580-82; Throgmorton's plot, 1583; and Babington's, 1586. All these plots revolved round Mary Stewart, as the personification of the sacred cause, and they were woven together mainly by the zealous Jesuit missionaries, of whom a few, like Father Campion, were simply devoted apostles of their faith, others, like Parsons, adepts in political intrigue, so that the papal crusade might reap credit from the one and success from the other.

To cope with these conspiracies and the foreign menace involved in them, parliament resorted to penal statutes, Elizabeth to the construction of a Netherland-French opposition to the king of Spain, her ministers to ceaseless activity in their secret service, and the sailors and young adventurers to bold attack upon Spanish resources. The plot engineered by Ridolfi, a banker and financial agent abroad for the English Crown, was foiled chiefly by the vigilance of Walsingham and Cecil (now Lord Burleigh and "the poorest lord in England"). They maintained a system of spies whose twofold object was to preserve the queen's safety and to find out the intentions of Philip II. The most triumphant successes of this system were won by Burleigh himself, who "accepted bribes" from Spain and for some time was believed to be betraying his sovereign, and by Sir John Hawkins, who had the audacity to betake himself to Madrid and, declaring that Elizabeth's ingratitude had alienated him for ever, entered into Spanish plans with such convincing gusto that he learned most valuable secrets, and obtained, as well, the release of the survivors of his men who had been taken prisoners at S. Juan de Ulloa in 1568.

No change of factions in France, not even the hideous massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572, turned Elizabeth from her conviction that these two middle countries must support each other against the military empire which almost encircled them, and as Catherine de' Medici read the situation in the same light, the two queens began the curious negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage with a French prince which alarmed and puzzled the Spanish and English ministers almost equally. The principal aim of Elizabeth was to induce the French government to send military and financial aid to the Netherlands. The French court was ready to let the pope, as well as the king of Spain, feel its power in diplomacy, and hoped that Elizabeth would supply the funds and troops for a French annexation of at least part of the revolted Netherlands.

Over the marriage negotiations Elizabeth kept her own counsel so well that even the most trusted of her ministers were deceived. "Here is great resort of wooers and controversy among lovers," wrote one to another, adding, "Would to God the queen had one and the rest honourably satisfied."

At first (1570-72) Henri, duke of Anjou, was the French candidate, a young man seventeen years younger than the English queen. But Henri with tears besought his mother to spare him such a fate and for him was substituted his still younger brother, first entitled

duke of Alençon, but promoted to be duke of Anjou when, in 1574, Henri succeeded to the French crown. In 1572, and from 1578 to 1582, it was widely believed that the now elderly English queen intended to give her hand to the ugly and odious youth whom she affectionately called her "Froggy." She was endeavouring to obtain from him and the French government such practical assistance for the heroic Netherlanders and their leader the Prince of Orange, as might enable them to baffle the Spanish armies without calling upon England for decided support. For all her flawless personal courage, Elizabeth, like Burleigh, dreaded war, believing that it would mean rebellion at home. She always refused to press inquiry into the sentiments of the English nobles, lest she should drive them to extremes. Though the duke of Norfolk was proved to be deep in the Ridolfi plot, it was difficult to find enough peers of assured loyalty to sit in judgment upon him, and when he was found guilty it required six months' ministerial pressure before the Queen would permit the sentence of death pronounced upon him to be carried out. She knew that forty peers had expressed their readiness either to aid the Spanish plan of invasion or to wait passively till it was accomplished and then accept its results. Only fifteen were staunchly loyal, and she preferred to avoid a crisis. In the same way she wanted to keep Philip II continually entangled in rebellions or French intrigues, and seems to have thought she might fend off a stern fight altogether. Not all her ministers agreed with her, but she rejected alike a parliamentary vote, an episcopal petition, and a general agitation in favour of open war on Spain in the Netherlands.

In the meantime Mary Stewart remained a captive. Her suite was gradually reduced in numbers, and her visitors and correspondence were carefully watched by Walsingham's skilful agents. The inquiry into the Ridolfi plot had shown that she was closely concerned. The key of the cipher in which she corresponded with Norfolk was found between a couple of tiles on the roof of Howard House, and her envoy and confidant, the bishop of Ross, was called before the Council. Elizabeth refused to allow him to be tortured (the recognised mode of dealing with traitors), but Burleigh convinced him that he would be, and the bishop then confessed his own and Mary's complicity, though Mary totally disavowed all his statements. "Lord!" exclaims the horrified under-secretary who took down his revelations, "what a people are these! what a queen, and what an ambassador!"

Parliament promptly began an Act of Attainder against Mary (1572), but was stopped by Elizabeth's express order. All the House of Commons could do was to frame severe laws against recusants. The first Act was vetoed by the queen, but the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) and the massacre at Antwerp known as the "Spanish fury" (1576) kept public feeling at white heat, and she had at last to give way. A fine had been levied upon persons

who habitually refused to attend their parish church, and as, after the Council of Trent, the pope forbade even an occasional conformity, most Roman-catholics paid it as a regular tax. But now the law forbade them to receive the secret ministrations of their own priests, or to send their sons to be educated abroad. No public career was open to them, because the oath of supremacy must be taken; it was made a penal offence to be a Roman priest, and all who were discovered were flung into prison. 'Priests' hiding holes' are still shown in several ancient houses. The revelations of the Throgmorton and Babington plots showed that the recusants were driven to desperation. Several of Elizabeth's own bodyguard were found to be among the pledged assassins; Philip II was building 300 ships to convey his army, and preparing troops and ammunition in all his dominions, and in 1584 Spanish and Jesuit tactics won a terrible victory, when the heroic Prince of Orange was assassinated.

In reply, the mass of the English people became defiant. An association was formed called 'the Protestant Association,' to protect the Queen from assassination. Parliamentary sanction was given to it, and when Mary offered to join it parliament intimated its knowledge of her real attitude by an Act to punish those on whose behalf rebellion should be attempted. Mary was placed in stricter custody, under Sir Amyas Paulet, in Fotheringay Castle, and Elizabeth at last let Drake loose in the West Indies, and signed a treaty with the Netherlands, sending her personal favourite, the earl of Leicester, at the head of the troops and volunteers who hastened thither (December 1585).

Finally, Elizabeth was compelled, by the unanimous voice of ministers, parliament and people, to permit the trial of Mary (1586)—as the Person on whose behalf the last plots were devised. A special commission was named, comprising all the great peers, five judges, and many of the queen's most faithful servants, —Knollys, Sadler, Walsingham, Hatton, Davison, Paulet—and presided over by the Archbishop, the Chancellor and Lord Burleigh. Mary denied everything, although her own letters and the confessions of the bishop of Ross and others were in evidence. But there was no room for doubt of her knowledge and encouragement of more than one assassination plot, and to her proud denial of any right in the Commission to try her, they replied simply that every one in England was amenable to its laws. It was felt by everyone that there was no choice save Mary's death, or Elizabeth's. The judgment of the Commission was unanimous that death must be the penalty of Mary's participation in the conspiracies, and the bells of London rang out when the decision was known, while bonfires spread the news in the midlands. "But," wrote Burleigh, "I fear more slackness in her Majesty than will stand either with her safety or with ours." Elizabeth foresaw the obloquy which would fall upon her from what would be represented as a cruel or a vindictive act,

and one which was, certainly, a strange departure from customary standards, and it took strong urging from her ministers to bring her to the point of signing the death-warrant. The incredible meanness of her subsequent conduct is really the darkest stain upon her character. She tried to avoid the storm of indignation that would visit her for purchasing her own and her people's safety with the execution of Mary, by pretending that her meaning had been perverted, and that the death-warrant had been fraudulently obtained and carried out. Walsingham was punished and Secretary Davison most unjustly made into a scapegoat, ruinously fined and kept harshly in prison for over a year : no one was deceived, and Elizabeth only made an act of justice appear as a mysterious crime by her persistent efforts to disclaim the responsibility.

XVII

THE GREAT WAR WITH SPAIN (TO 1588)

THE very word "Elizabethan" brings before the mind a portrait gallery of famous men. Whatever other effects were wrought by the ferment of thought and the excitement of rapid and sweeping changes in the sixteenth century, it is clear that intellects were sharpened and courage hardened. The cautious dealings of the statesmen were, at all events, not due to cowardice, and the seamen and soldiers, whose bolder methods in the end superseded theirs, have been ever since the models for generations of heroes whose skill and daring have reached, again and again, the same splendid heights.

(A) THE MINISTERS

The queen and the country were nobly served by a group of wise and single-minded statesmen. Like Henry VII, Elizabeth trusted the conduct of the state to simple gentlemen, rather than to great nobles, and, like him, she kept in her own hands the final authority. There was no one all-powerful minister, but incomparably first stood Sir William Cecil (Lord Burleigh), who had become Secretary under Edward VI, and whose grandfather had served Henry VII. The Cecils had received monastic plunder and were pledged to the reforming cause. Sir William was a man very quiet and prudent in action but perfectly independent and disinterested. He had served Elizabeth secretly during the time of her greatest danger, in Mary's reign, and on her accession he became, and for forty years remained, her principal minister: her "spirit" she called him. "This judgment I have of you," she said on his first appointment, "that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift and that you will be faithful to the State, and that without respect of my private will you give me that counsel that you think best." Her judgment was just. Cecil was the first royal *minister*, in the modern sense, that is, he was not merely an instrument of the sovereign. At a moment when he despaired of persuading the queen to see the right policy as he did, he set forth his view of a minister's position and duty, begging her, "with a sorrowful heart and watery eyes," to allow him to resign his post, since, although "I cannot with my conscience give any contrary advice," yet "I will never be a minister in any your Majesty's service, whereunto

your own mind shall not be agreeable, for thereunto I am sworn, to be a minister of your Majesty's determinations and not of mine own, nor of others, though they be never so many. . . . And as for any other service, though it were in your Majesty's kitchen or garden, from the bottom of my heart I am ready, without respect of estimation, wealth or ease, to do your Majesty's commandment to my life's end:" and Elizabeth gave way. The principle of public duty was with Cecil and his colleagues the dominant idea. He and his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper (in much the position of Chancellor), as well as such eminent public servants and diplomatists as Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Francis Walsingham, Davison, the Chaloners or the Hobys, spent their lives in the service of Elizabeth and England, facing discomforts and dangers in foreign courts and on long journeys,—pestilence, robbers, assassins—dangers as real as those which the famous sailors met on the high seas.

Like her father and grandfather, Elizabeth was an excellent judge of men. It was her duty, she held, not to "shut up her favour to one man only," and as she was well aware of the different currents of feeling in the nation, her way of being just to all and keeping a hold upon the loyalty of all, was to show favour to different leaders alike, or, when that was not possible, in turns. This was still the conception of a wise and fair ruler to the end of the seventeenth century. William III, almost as strongly as Elizabeth, held it improper, as well as impolitic, in the sovereign to identify his government with one school of thought or politics alone. The modern idea of government by a *party* was regarded then with disgust.

This was one reason of Elizabeth's apparently inconsistent favouritism. She placed confidence in Cecil, but also in Walsingham, who from 1570 was Cecil's colleague, but did not always agree with his policy. She confided to her relatives—Lord Hunsdon, the Howards, St. John and Knollys—or to trusty men like Norreys and Henry Sidney, the most arduous and important tasks, yet she never bestowed upon them such riches and honours as she lavished upon the unpopular Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, or on young Essex, or Christopher Hatton, or Walter Raleigh. That Elizabeth enjoyed the kind of devotion proffered by these courtiers and others like them is undeniable, and she probably considered that she had a right to some enjoyment in the midst of the toils and dangers which she so stedfastly supported; she may have thought that the favouritism which she manifested, compared with her father's, cost the nation very little; she certainly felt, too, a strong personal affection for Leicester, but she made use both of him and of her own feelings. The graver ministers could never take it for granted that their advice must needs be acted upon; foreign envoys reported that Dudley was a formidable rival to every suitor for the royal hand, while many men, especially the fighting sailors,



THE PETARD AND THE METHOD OF USING IT
(ABOUT A.D. 1570)

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who would in vain have sought encouragement from Burleigh, could obtain help and an introduction to the queen from Leicester or Hatton.

Sir Christopher Hatton was treated as something of a court rival to Leicester, lest the earl should fancy himself indispensable. Scandal averred that Elizabeth made him Chancellor from delight in his beautiful dancing—and had not Catherine of France, Elizabeth's distant ancestress, perpetrated a *mésalliance* with the Welshman who danced to perfection? But Hatton was a good enough lawyer, and for his statesmanship perhaps it is enough to say that he was the chief patron of Sir Francis Drake.

(B) THE SEAMEN

Few of the changes of Tudor times are more surprising than that which in one generation converted the men of the south-western counties from a garrison of the old system (as in 1549) into the pioneers of the new. Nautical enterprise had steadily advanced from the time of Henry VII, and by the accession of Elizabeth the seafaring interest seems to have overcome the conservatism of the agricultural classes. Among the leaders of the Elizabethan advance on the seas were members of several families which had been foremost in the naval reforms of Henry VII and VIII. The Gonsons of Portsmouth, the Wynters of Bristol, the Hawkinses of Plymouth, the Fenners of Chichester, had been steadily forging ahead for three-quarters of a century in the construction of ships and their handling. The greater number of their famous companions belong to the county of Devon,—John Davys, Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, Richard Grenville, and the greatest, Francis Drake—though the Thames claims a share in him, as in Martin Frobisher. Ipswich is represented by Cavendish, the North by Clifford, earl of Cumberland; Willoughby came of the well-known Nottinghamshire family, and Frobisher from the West Riding. From London port also went forth many courageous and skilful captains, like James Lancaster, but they were primarily leaders in commercial ventures, though excellent fighting men. Among the latter the Devonshire adventurers were the most remarkable. The Queen is reported to have said that Devon men “were all born courtiers with becoming confidence.” Certainly, whether of ancient lineage, like Grenville, or of name more recent, like Drake, they were apt to pursue fortune sword in hand.

Rapid improvements were being made in this century in ship-building and sailing science, and not only, nor first, by the English. Genoa perhaps led the way, the Hanse towns and the French were scarcely behind. When Philip II began to reduce the Low Countries to slavery by means of his Italian and Spanish armies, it was to the sea that the chiefs of the Netherland resistance betook themselves. They, with the Huguenot sailors of the French seaboard,

and the English, rivalled each other in feats of privateering and piracy, by no means confining their operations always to the Spaniards, who were enemies of both Huguenots and Hollanders. The question of piracy was less simple than it may seem. The League composed by the Guises and the King of Spain, which aimed at the destruction or subjection of the reforming peoples, drew resources in materials or loans from Italian and German merchant cities, and—like later military powers—(in 1780, 1800, and 1915)—protested that war “ought” to be waged on land alone; on the sea (where their material resources could be faced by their out-numbered but brave opponents on rather more equal terms) there “ought” to be peaceful passage for the enemy. Fighting on land was, according to them, an appeal to the judgment of God, which might very likely be given to the big battalions; naval war upon their fleets and convoys was piracy. Piracy there certainly was; but it was hardly possible (in those days) for the English government to compel its sailors to allow their enemies’ ammunition and provisions to pass freely. The awkwardness in the English position lay in the fact that England was not yet, in the ’sixties, at war with Spain, and that the Queen refused to make a formal alliance with the continental Protestants. Her desire was to weaken her opponents, Philip and the Guises, by a “war underhand,” while Philip and his general, Alva, were almost as anxious not to have an English war on their hands, especially while the Spaniards were fighting for the Mediterranean with the tenacious Turk.

In 1572, just after Ridolfi’s plot had opened Elizabeth’s eyes, Alva insisted that the English ports must be closed to the Holland and Zeeland captains, the famous “Water-Beggars,” who had for some years been using Yarmouth and other ports as places of refuge, with the full consent and aid of the English. Elizabeth gave way, and with much severity forbade the Water-Beggars her ports. But she had secret arrangements made with them first, nor was it a sudden accident which enabled them, when they cleared from the English coast, to assault successfully the island-fortress of Brille on their own coast, and, holding it as a citadel, commence from thence their reconquest of their own land and liberty. In this same year the greatest of English seamen set forth to assault the “Treasure of the World” at Nombre de Dios on the Mexican coast. Francis Drake had, during the ’sixties, with every help his government could secretly afford him, been reconnoitring the West Indies. The plan of the English sailors was threefold: to sap Spanish strength by cutting away the wealth which supplied it, to build their own fortunes and fill the queen’s treasury at the same time, and to open to Englishmen the rich commerce of the West Indies and South America, of China and the East Indies. This last aim had been for half a century cherished by the merchants and captains of London and other cities. This had been the lure which drew Chancellor and Willoughby into the north-eastern

Arctic seas, and Gilbert and Frobisher and Davys to the north-west Arctic; if they could but get round the continents and reach China (Cathay), "the Japans" and the Indies, England could tap tropical wealth without combating Spain and Portugal. Others tried to reach the lands of spice and precious stones overland, *via* Asia Minor, the Euphrates and Basra, and so to Persia and India. Others, again, sought the South American coast, the land of dyewood (Brazil wood) and perhaps of silver. The French and English seamen derided the claim of Spain to hold up for herself the world of gold and silver known as the Spanish Main[land]—*i. e.* Mexico, Central America and the coast as far as the Orinoco mouths. Let the Spaniards see whether, as the better men, they could keep those countries, if not, mere priority in discovery should not avail them.¹ Thus English, French and sometimes Netherland sailors engaged together in informal alliance in western trade, or piracy. It is noteworthy that a number of our sea-terms are in origin French, while others are Flemish. And, indeed, to the French mariners the English were greatly indebted, for they had been first on both African and Brazilian coasts, and showed the routes to English captains, while the friendly relations which they habitually cultivated with the natives were often extended to include the English. In America the "Red Men," whom the Spaniards enslaved, soon grasped the fact that the English were their allies. In Africa, the slave trade, in which Hawkins and some others followed the evil Portuguese example, was conducted in the teeth of French protests, and it brought its penalty in the fierce revenge wreaked by the negroes on many white crews and explorers.

There is no clear line to be drawn between Elizabethan commerce, exploration, and raiding, especially as the captains of expeditions which often extended over more than one year could never tell whether a state of peace or war were existing; nor, after 1581, (when Philip II secured the crown of Portugal), could they guess whether the Portuguese of the Atlantic islands, or on the Brazil or Indian coasts, would elect to be the king of Spain's subjects or his enemies. In a season of such uncertainties audacity was the first condition of success, and the new vikings who laid the foundation of the East India Company, or attempted the first colonisation of Virginia, or charted the Pacific route and the South American coasts, did so with royal charters and letters in one coffer and gunpowder in the rest. There were more individual failures than successes. More sailors paved the deep sea-ways with their bones than came riding home with booty, yet in the final result England was victorious. Spain, it seemed, could master the ocean only while none disputed it with her.

It was in the 'seventies that Francis Drake raised his name to a level with, and even above, that of Hawkins. In 1572 he fitted out two little ships and set out for the Spanish treasure city on the

¹ Cf. the saying—*Catch is a good dog but Holdfast is a better.*

Gulf of Mexico, Nombre de Dios. In spite of the most marvellous daring he failed to seize the treasure, mainly for want of a competent lieutenant. But he made up for the loss by adventures like those of a fairy-tale in secret harbours and tropical forests, among friendly Indians and natural dangers. Crossing the Isthmus, he beheld the Pacific, looted Vera Cruz, seized a silver convoy, and at last loaded nearly thirty tons of silver and gold on little boats and rafts made of trees. Then, seizing on a Spanish ship, he and his band terrorised the Gulf of Mexico and came home with the plunder of 200 vessels, in the August of 1573. Drake became the hero of England, though Burleigh and Sir Nicholas Bacon, intent upon preserving peace with Spain, regarded him as a dangerous firebrand. The Spanish ambassador clamoured for justice, and the queen expressed most suitable wrath and got Drake off to Ireland with the earl of Essex. By this time the sailors and the queen thoroughly understood one another. They were to do as they chose and the queen would behave as circumstances, one of which was Burleigh, directed. That in the end war must come, few could doubt. The sailors, with Walsingham, Leicester and Elizabeth's younger favourite, Hatton, wanted it soon. Burleigh and Bacon were for putting it off to the last, and the queen seems to have judged with the one party and felt with the other. She encouraged the peacemakers, the Spanish envoy chief among them, by refusing (in 1575 and again in 1583) the offer made to her by the Prince of Orange of the sovereignty over the Netherland provinces. On the other hand, she personally encouraged Drake to set out on his famous three years' voyage round the world-circle of Spanish colonies (1577-80).

This great voyage was a challenge and a menace to Spain, whose pilots had carefully kept to themselves their knowledge and charts of the Straits of Magellan and the routes across the Pacific. Not that Spanish ships went to the Peru coast by those straits; they followed the Portuguese route by the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies and the Philippine Islands, whence a separate "service" made the coasts of Mexico and South America. But for English ships to do the like was not possible without open fighting from beginning to end, in which all the advantages lay with Spain. So that Drake's aim, the spoiling, and, still more, the terrorising of the Spanish Pacific, could be attained only by preliminary secrecy, which involved exploring the unknown passage. Difficult enough in themselves, Magellan's Straits had been invested with legendary terrors worthy of Ulysses, and only the stoutest hearts and an invincible commander could hope to overcome their combined maritime and devilish perils.

Not least among Drake's services to England is it to be reckoned that he founded the splendid discipline of the English Navy, and chiefly during this critical voyage. That the captain has absolute authority on his ship, and the admiral over the squadron, that flight, desertion, mutiny and disobedience to orders entail the death

penalty, that a court-martial presided over by the admiral is a supreme court at sea, that the queen's commands run in her ships as in her counties, that the English flag covers a little bit of England upon the sea,—such were the fundamental rules of Drake, and they were learned by his crews. When he returned home others tried to question his actions, but the government upheld Drake, and on his foundation is built the law of the navy.

The voyage was costly both in ships and lives; Wynter was blown back into the Straits, but succeeded in reaching home, others were lost, and only Drake's own ship won through to final success. It sufficed, however. Raiding from harbour to harbour up the western coast, taking prisoner amazed Spanish officers and pilots, confiscating the cargoes and charts of unsuspecting ships, sampling the wines and provisions of comfortable settlements, careening his ship on desert islands, Drake explored, probably, as far as British Columbia, and there set up a trophy of Queen Elizabeth among adoring Red Indians, before he turned westwards and crossed the Pacific. In the East Indies, too, native chiefs befriended him, showed him the arts of getting sago and cooking rice, and gave intelligence of Spanish and Portuguese ships. Finally, the Cape of Good Hope was rounded—"the most noble thing in the world," the seamen declared it. And so, ballasted in gold and jewels, came the *Golden Hind* home into Plymouth Sound, in the autumn of 1580.

The treasure was the least part of her conquest: more important was the knowledge won of the ocean routes and havens, of tropical lands and peoples, and of the Spanish maritime and colonial system: yet more effective was the revelation made to Spain and to the world that the political giant was no longer invincible, and that the challenge already delivered by English sailors could be made good. Finally, and chiefly, Drake had begun a revolution in warfare. Upon the ocean lay the links of the Spanish empire, and if they could be severed there, the empire would break into scattered fragments. Philip's troops, supplies and money must all travel over the sea, and troops without pay and munitions were of little account. Drake was teaching English statesmen how England's maritime power could be turned directly against the enemy, instead of being treated simply as a means of conveying armies to and fro or policing the narrow seas. Fleets were now to be weapons in themselves. This new art of war entailed also a new art of naval fighting. The guns upon the ships were now to be relied upon rather than the old-fashioned plan of grappling and boarding the enemy, and good gunnery would defeat that other old-fashioned method, used by galleys, of ramming ships by means of fast-rowed boats with beaks.

Naturally such revolutionary inventions were not immediately grasped by the statesmen, though the leading captains instantly understood and practised the new methods, so that unfortunately

several years passed before Drake could extract permission to carry the fight to the enemy's ports, the line which, as they—long before Nelson—perceived, was the frontier of England's self-defence. In the meantime Philip was offering a huge reward to get Drake assassinated, and the great sailor's rivals and enviers were intriguing against him with Elizabeth.

(C) CRISIS, 1585-1588

At last, in 1585, both the queen and Burleigh were driven to the conviction that Philip meant invasion and was nearly ready for it. Walsingham could show written proofs; Throgmorton's conspiracy had tainted the palace; William of Orange had fallen, Henri III of France had joined in the Guises' League to help Philip against Elizabeth, so what Burleigh seems to have considered the desperate remedy of employing Drake on his own plan was adopted. With the famous Frobisher as second in command, and with Walsingham's son-in-law, the gallant Carleill, a Hawkins and a Knollys among his military captains, Drake set off on a combined naval and military expedition, to attack Spain in her West Indian citadels. Even then the queen and the government were undecided, though Smith, in France, reported that the rumour of Raleigh's and Drake's preparations so vexed Parma "that I could wish, if Drake's journey be stayed, that the rumour of it be continued." The moment permission to sail was obtained Drake started, though his fleet was not properly fitted out, and he actually made for the enemy's coast to complete his preparations and at the same time bewilder the Spanish government.

After provisioning and raiding at Finisterre and Vigo, and discovering that Philip's ships and troops were unable to face him, he went away to the Cape Verde Islands, and there visited on the capital city, Santiago, a just vengeance for a piece of treacherous cruelty perpetrated there some years before. The islands were a stage on the way to the West Indies, and there San Domingo and Cartagena were taken and plundered, over 200 guns seized, a whole fleet burnt, and hundreds of prisoners and slaves set free. It was characteristic of Drake that everywhere he took pains to punish severely any treachery or breach of the recognised rules of war, and, whenever he could, to remedy injustice inflicted by the enemy on others. So entire was the confidence felt in his word and in his magnanimity that sometimes private merchants of Spain and Portugal used to make terms with him on their own account, paying ransom for their ships.

Laden with the spoils of Cartagena, Drake next visited Florida, where he destroyed the Spanish settlement, as vengeance for a massacre of French colonists, and then, according to his promise on setting out, he rescued Raleigh's settlers on the Virginia coast before coming home. He learned that his feats had ruined the

Bank of Seville, caused a panic in the money market of Venice, and had reduced the Spanish army in Flanders to the direst straits for lack of pay and supplies. The Protestants in Germany and the Netherlands were again arming, and Drake was, indeed, as the cautious Burleigh allowed, "a fearful man to the king of Spain."

(D) THE ARMADA, 1588

The years which had witnessed so wonderful a naval development, had been strenuous also with other preparations for the coming struggle.

All over England counties and towns were ordered (from 1560) to select their quotas of able men to train for war—the militia. The training seems superficial according to modern standards or to the standards of Spanish soldiery: the *musters* (like our camps) were held about every three years, when men drilled, but many men were already acquainted with the use of their weapons, for the "hand-gun" was so popular that archery languished or was confined to hunting, and the government had obtained a little money by insisting upon a *licence* being purchased for the use of so dangerous a weapon. The manufacture of hand-guns and cannon, of anchors and all kinds of shipping material, was encouraged as much as possible, and quantities of gunpowder were smuggled for the Crown out of the Low Countries, disguised as bales of cloth, etc. Fortifications had been repaired; docks and havens surveyed and protected; gentlemen were required to breed horses in their parks; canvas and rope manufacture was undertaken and inquiry was made as to inventions for such things. The Lords-Lieutenant were charged with the supervision of the county militia, the vice-admirals of the maritime shires were in control of local naval resources. Even tables of the provisions necessary for troops "for forty days" were prepared.

It was time for England to arm her forces and her friends, for the belated alliance between England and the Netherlands, just decided upon when Drake started on his adventure, had already closed shamefully. Elizabeth had sent Leicester at the head of the troops, as a proof of her personal determination, but Leicester's incompetence had wasted the valour of his men and the efforts of the Hollanders. This plan for hindering the king of Spain had, therefore, failed, and that at the very moment of gravest danger. Mary Stewart had made a will, bequeathing to Philip II all her rights and claims over Scotland and England, and though to most Englishmen this went for nothing, to the king of Spain and the pope it appeared to afford a lawful ground for the conquest and forcible conversion of the two British kingdoms. For this purpose the mightiest fleet ever heard of was gradually assembling in the mouth of the Tagus, for which ships were building in every harbour of Spain and half those of Italy—the Invincible Armada.

Drake, therefore, in 1587, obtained at length permission to

attack the Spanish *Armada* at its base. Making for Cadiz, one of the principal collecting stations, he broke right into the harbour and sank or took nearly forty vessels. Then, learning that Lisbon harbour was too strongly fortified to be carried in this manner by ships alone, he took possession of the excellent harbour of Sagraes, close to Cape St. Vincent, which all incoming sail must pass, and proceeded to take and sink them as they arrived. Most were laden with stores vitally necessary for the Spanish Armada, which the English kept or burnt. At last the necessity of taking his ships home to refit obliged Drake to leave this commanding position, but on the way he fell in with the most famous of all Spanish vessels, the great *San Felipe*, the personal property of Philip, bringing to his treasury a cargo of riches. The *Elizabeth Bonaventura* engaged the *San Felipe* single-handed and took it,—a good omen; in it they found not treasure alone, but all the confidential papers and plans of the Spanish colonial empire and its commercial organisation, a priceless windfall to English merchants and adventurers.

The effect of Drake's great raid was tremendous. He himself observed that he had "sing'd the king of Spain's beard." The supply ships from German Baltic ports, which were to bring indispensable timber, ropes and sailcloth, were afraid to sail unless their captains learnt that Drake was far from their route, while the loss of the other stores told heavily, afterwards, on the health and ability of the troops and sailors. Even inland cities were panic-stricken by the name of "El Draque" (*the Dragon*). Nevertheless the stubborn king went on with his preparations, while Elizabeth, over prudent, could not be persuaded to let Drake repeat his successful exploit. She insisted that every English ship must now remain off the English coast to cope with the invasion when it should come. So that in 1588, unhindered, the Great Armada of 130 ships set forth.

It was too large for its admiral, the duke of Medina Sidonia, to control, and he was a new and inexperienced man, for the experienced Santa Cruz had just died. The ships were dangerously overcrowded by troops, stores and munitions of war, for the Spanish regarded the fleet merely as a sort of floating island to convey the army; and the ships, excellently adapted as they were for deep-sea mercantile traffic in the trade-wind regions, were not, as the English had long ago discovered, very well designed for warfare, being slow and heavy to handle. Even on the voyage of three weeks from Lisbon to Corunna they became seriously battered, and the troops fell ill from want of food and drink.

The Armada got away from Corunna and Finisterre at the beginning of July, and took three weeks more to make the Lizard. The plan was to coast to Margate, there land part of the troops, then to bring over the duke of Parma's troops from Flanders, and attack London.

Many of the Spanish "galleons" were larger than any English

ships, but others seemed larger than they were, from being built high. The English ships were far superior in gun power and in the skill of the gunners. The Spaniards expected to grapple ships and fight hand to hand, in the style of Sluys, but the school of Drake used their ships as dirigible batteries.

Both fleets suffered from the incapacity of the age in the important matter of victualling. Meat and biscuit were never, as yet, properly preserved. The English, however, had the advantage of being nearer home, and of having honester purveyors, and Burleigh and Walsingham personally attended to the matter, yet neither bread nor beer was got into the ships as efficiently as Admiral Howard desired, so that when the moment of starting arrived there was too little on board.

Awaiting the Armada's attack was (1) a fleet of seventy ships in Plymouth haven, under Lord Howard of Effingham, with Drake for his deputy (or vice-admiral), and Hawkins, Frobisher, and Fenner for flag officers, (2) a second fleet, off Dover, under Sir Henry Seymour with William Wynter as his right hand, and (3) a friendly Dutch squadron, which watched the Flemish coast ready to pounce on Parma if he tried to embark troops. Drake and Fenner considered Parma's army the most dangerous menace, knowing that Elizabeth had no soldiers fit to face those picked troops. But they could not get across the sea without better ships than Parma's, being principally oared galleys, as to which, said Drake, "twelve of her Majesty's ships are a match for all the galleys in the king of Spain's dominions."

The southerly wind which brought up the Armada was dead against the Plymouth fleet, but Howard's men warped their ships out and used every possible device to get in the wake of the enemy and so get the weather-gage. Medina helped them by going eastward as steadily as he could, to find next day (Sunday, July 21) that the English had caught him up and could at their own choice batter his hulls or sweep his decks with their guns, while the awkward Spanish artillery could hardly succeed in touching the agile enemy.

The steady eastward run continued for six days, on three of which the Spaniards fought actions which were indecisive. On Saturday night Medina had reached Calais and there the Spanish anchored, Howard and Seymour riding a mile off to windward. Already a great many of the English ships, small vessels hardly fit for fighting, had been forced to run to their own coast; some forty-five remained effective. The Armada was alarmingly near the Flemish coast, and that Parma, threatened by the Dutch, was not ready to move was unknown to the English. The device was therefore tried of fire-ships, a device not new to the age, and sure to breed panic when successfully attempted, but difficult and dangerous to execute.* Eight of the less valuable ships were

¹ It was almost a parallel (*mutatis mutandis*) to the attack on Zeebrugge in 1918.

THE OCEAN.

TO ILLUSTRATE TUDOR VOYAGES.

Course of the Spanish Armada →





sacrificed, and, stuffed with combustibles, worked to the very edge of the Spanish fleet with consummate courage and skill. Suddenly they burst into flames: among the Spanish troops were some whose memories held a terrible picture of Flemish desperation,—they raised a terror-stricken shout, “the fireships of Antwerp!” and panic flew through the Armada. Intent on instant escape, the captains stood out to sea in the darkness, and day found only a portion of the Spanish fleet in array under Medina himself. It was drawn up off Gravelines in a crescent, awaiting battle.

Forming in three squadrons, the English attacked, not with grappling-irons, but with incessant broadsides, from nine in the morning till six in the evening, when the crews were exhausted and their ammunition spent. By that time the Spaniards were in flight northward, the only sea-way open to them, before a rising gale. Drake chased them, unable to fire a shot, but “putting on a brag countenance” to scare the flying foe from any possible harbour. Wynter could report to the government that there was no more danger, for without a fleet Parma’s army was useless, and the greater part of the ships were certain to be broken to pieces on the strange route round the Scottish islands and Ireland. In fact, most went down in the ocean; the few which brought up in some Scottish or Irish loch or haven found enemies awaiting them. One wreck was actually washed ashore at Salcombe, and only a few battered relics of the “Invincible Armada” ever reached the ports of Spain. The die had been cast and the decision was final.

Both peoples—the English from habitual dislike of boasting and the Spanish from a natural preference—publicly ascribed the result in the first place to the winds and waves (*la mer est anglaise par inclination*, as a French historian once observed), but the true reason was the superior skill of English mariners, the new gunnery system of broadside-firing at close range, and the genius of Drake and the other great admirals. It was not till the English fleet had seized and kept the offensive, and had beaten Medina from Calais and Gravelines, that the winds and waves which had so prosperously floated the Armada to Calais, ranged themselves on the side of England. Elizabeth’s well-known medal bore as its motto “*Afflavit Deus et dissipantur.*”

XVIII

THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH

THE most perplexing of all the problems with which Elizabeth and Cecil were confronted was that of the national attitude towards religion—for that the nation, as a single whole, must recognise and enforce one definite religious system, no one questioned. It would have been difficult, in those times, even to imagine otherwise.

“The question was, How could a religious system be best maintained which, without any formal breach with the past, should be able to contain and direct the national life, which had been profoundly affected by new ideas, alike in theology and politics?”* The elements of the problem were various:—

(1) The extremes to which, first the reforming party, and then the Roman party, had gone in the decade 1547–1558 had given birth to strong feelings, and those who had gone abroad for safety, in either case, had come under powerful influence, the one section at Frankfort or Geneva, the other at Rome. The reformers under Edward VI had been robbers, and some of them, evidently, hypocrites: on the other hand, the Marian persecution had made it certain that the English would never again submit to papal authority, and Mary’s action caused many, particularly in London, to advocate the most extreme doctrines of Protestantism, as being the most clearly opposed to Rome.

(2) The queen and Cecil, however, thought, not only of the sentiment of the Londoners, but of the feeling of other and less vociferous classes. There were still living a great number—and not in the North alone—to whom the beautiful services of old were dear, and to whom the English services and the articles and homilies of Edward’s bishops were painful innovations. The queen hoped to conciliate these and win their loyalty by making it easy for them to give up the pope without giving up much in their own parish churches.

(3) Elizabeth’s own leaning was towards dignity and reverence in the Church; she hated disorder and violence in anything, and especially in religious matters. For the sake of reverence, there must be a certain system to be observed in all churches alike, for the sake of order, the organisation of the Church must be maintained, and the more closely both could be kept to the ancient system, the

¹ Creighton.

better she held it to be. In this policy she had the support of many clergy and scholars of the older school, that of Cranmer and Henry VIII, who could separate papal authority and papal abuses from the body of Christian doctrine and the observances sanctioned by the Church for ages.

(4) But the new ideas in theology which were being studied in England came from abroad, and the tenets of German Lutherans or French and Swiss Calvinists, though translated into English phrases, always retained the harsh colour of their alien birthplaces. The men who came back from Switzerland or Germany imbued with new doctrines, constantly referred to their foreign teachers as if they possessed some greater authority than English divines. Their simple and sweeping rule was : that nothing should be accepted in religious doctrine, worship or organisation, which could not be found in Scripture. They then assumed that everything since the Apostles ought to be ignored and that Christianity should begin afresh. In practice, however, they adopted certain assumptions, derived by Calvin from Biblical interpretation ; for example, that *bishop* and *presbyter* originally meant the same thing and that, therefore, they ought to mean the same thing in their own time, and that the meaning was not that of the historical *bishop*, but of the reformers' *presbyter*. But that the calvinist system had been successful in the French-speaking Free City of Geneva, Calvin's tiny and despotically-ruled republic, did not prove that it would be acceptable, or even possible, in the complex kingdom of England. The ardent advocates of the calvinist system, however, ignored practical considerations, as well as the fact that many men as conscientious as themselves rejected alike their assumptions and their chain of reasoning. In the sweeping and dogmatic nature of their claims they curiously resembled the papalists, except that, for an infallible Church, to be interpreted by the pope, they substituted an infallible Book, to be interpreted by Calvin or themselves.

There were, then, three distinct principles and as many schools (or parties) : (a) the old, or Roman—that authority can and should coerce ; (b) the Elizabethan, or Anglican—that authority is our guide ; (c) the Genevan, or Puritan—that there was no authority.

On her accession Elizabeth found the English Church much disorganised. Mary and Pole had left a number of sees vacant, and several bishops died in the same year. A few old men from among Edward's bishops survived, but most preferred not to resume their former sees in those arduous times. Only one of the Marian bishops was willing to take the Oath of Supremacy, the rest were all deprived of their sees. In consequence, the episcopate had to be filled by new men and several sees were kept vacant for some time.

The new archbishop, Matthew Parker, was, like so many other eminent men of the time, a scholar of Cambridge, of which university he had been Vice-Chancellor. Parker belonged to the famous group of which Latimer, Ridley, Bilney and Cranmer were members, but

he was best known as a man of learning and of ruling talent, who had been the distinguished Head of a much-needed college for clergy (destroyed under Edward VI), and he had had the courage not only to be Anne Boleyn's chaplain, but to oppose Gardiner, and to plead with Henry VIII to spare some of the colleges of the clergy and some endowments of education. Parker was consecrated at Lambeth by Coverdale, Barlow and two other bishops, and his primacy (1559-1576) did much to place the English Church once more on a settled foundation.

But Elizabeth found that she could not arbitrate upon religion as her father had done. Royal authority had changed too often, and strong parties had formed. Parliament, in the course of a score of years, had become accustomed to legislating on religious and ecclesiastical questions, and what it had tried to avoid doing in Henry's time it was ardent and self-assertive in doing in Elizabeth's time. Nevertheless, as soon as her first parliament had restored the Act of Supremacy (1559), the queen, and not the parliament, was according to law the Head of the National Church, and Elizabeth tried to draw a clearer distinction between the spheres of Church and State than her immediate predecessors had done.

She disliked the arrogant title of *Supreme Head* and altered it to *Governor*. The Act had discarded the Henrician formula and simply declared that the sovereign was "in all causes as well ecclesiastical as civil Supreme." But the refusal to take the Oath was no longer made treasonable, and the deprived bishops were kindly dealt with; some were required to live with their successors, that a watch might be kept on them, lest they should plot treason; Heath, the late excellent archbishop of York, was allowed to live privately in his own house, and Elizabeth took pains to show her regard for him; Bonner, for whose blood the London mob clamoured, was kept safe in prison. By far the greater part of the rest of the clergy took the Oath and bowed also to the renewed Act of Uniformity, only about 200 refusing to acquiesce.

Elizabeth considered that it was for the bishops to make what detailed regulations were needful in religion, and Parker, assisted by a committee, accordingly issued (1) a new version of the English Book of Common Prayer (1559), formed by a revision of the two Prayer-books of Edward VI; (2) the Bishops' Bible (1568), the best translation yet made, which was printed without any controversial notes or prefaces, and (3) the Thirty-nine Articles (1571), based upon Cranmer's Articles and purposely worded so as to permit of much latitude in individual interpretation. He also issued instructions, called *Advertisements* (*i.e.* notices), to inform the clergy what ceremonial, vestments, etc., were now to be the rule in the Church of England. His own tolerant temper was seen in the kindly hospitality which he extended to the mother and sister of Bonner and others who lived in his palace at Lambeth.

The system which Elizabeth, Cecil and Parker adopted was

designed to retain as much as possible of the ancient prayers and ritual of the Church, while discarding some which in later times had come to imply to many people a superstitious veneration of mere things, such as images and relics, or a worship rendered to saints, or a recognition of the authority of the pope. The Church of England, said Parker, did not acknowledge any authority over it to be in the pope, whether in religion or in law. But the archbishop met with extraordinary difficulties in executing the general plan. The Queen, parliament, the extremer puritan clergy and a political party which supported them, all laid claim either to exercise authority, or to be free from any authority, and in his patient efforts to persuade the puritan clergy the archbishop more than once offended the Queen. He was also hampered by having very little legal power, and he therefore wished to have parliamentary sanction for the Prayer-book and the Articles, so that offenders might be dealt with by the ordinary law. The knowledge that this would be the case would be a check on eccentricity. But this encouraged parliament still further to consider itself the final authority upon religion and angered the Queen, who thought that the bishops might somehow control the clergy in her name. Not till after Parker's death did she finally set up the *Court of Ecclesiastical Commission* (1583), to which she delegated her supreme authority.

Unfortunately Elizabeth's practices hampered her Church policy very seriously. At the beginning of her reign the revenues of the vacant bishoprics had furnished the principal means of government, and she was reluctant to give up so useful a fund. During the whole of her life bishoprics and Church endowments had to pay her large sums, and this resulted, especially in the vast parishes of the North, in a great lack of clergy. In Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham and the diocese of Carlisle, the bishops could not find competent clergy to undertake the duty of parishes which were often many square miles in extent, on a stipend which meant semi-starvation, especially as most clergy were now married men. It was always a great fault in the reformed Church. "I know," Latimer had once exclaimed, "where is a great market-town with divers hamlets and inhabitants, where [tithes] do rise yearly of their labours to the value of fifty pound, and the vicar that serveth, being so great a cure, hath but twelve or fourteen marks by year; so that of this pension he is not able to buy him books, nor give his neighbour drink; all the great gain goeth another way."

The greed for Church property early enticed a number of politicians and court favourites of the Queen into joining the puritan party in attacking the Church, with the object of obtaining plunder. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who inherited his father's rapacity and aptitude for unscrupulous intrigue, was the leader of this party, and the Queen unblushingly bestowed upon him, and on other favourites of like character, money and Church property at the expense of the bishops and clergy.

While the archbishop was more concerned with Puritanism, Parliament was primarily concerned with Romanism, and here again the intermingling of religious and political motive was inevitable. As all people habitually went to church, it was noticeable if any family steadily refrained from doing so, and the government knew that this meant that they set the pope's authority above the queen's. It was therefore ordered that all persons must as a rule attend their parish church upon Sundays at the least, but no questions were to be asked as to their opinions so long as they behaved with decent reverence. This was a great advance in tolerance, whether upon the methods of the Church in past times or upon those of Protestants abroad. Elizabeth always refused to make "windows into men's souls," as she termed inquisitorial curiosity.

But after the Rising of the North (1569) and the papal excommunication and 'deposition' of the queen (1570), Jesuit missionaries tried to stir up a stronger religious feeling among the Romanists against the English Church and the Queen. The pope forbade his faithful even to be present in the parish church, and urged them to send their sons abroad to be brought up in Jesuit colleges, of which a number were founded especially for Englishmen, at Douai, Louvain, Rome and other places. The assassination plots of the 'seventies, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the cruelties of Philip II in the Netherlands, and the fight for our national independence in the 'eighties, all strengthened the general national resistance to everything Romanist, and the extreme teaching of the Calvinists became more popular. In the midland and eastern towns, especially, the mass of the middle classes approved of clear, extreme views, partly because extremes are easier than tolerance, and as the Romanists clung to ceremonies it seemed to these people a good answer to abolish all ceremonies. Two eminent puritan teachers, Travers and Cartwright, had compiled a *Book of Discipline* which advocated a presbyterian system of Church organisation, without bishops. They preferred extempore prayer, and believed that any ceremony or vestment of old times implied dangerous concessions to Rome. Parker, they prophesied, would be the last archbishop of Canterbury.

Hence rose an agitation among part of the middle class in town and country, sometimes voiced by their members in parliament, for the destruction of everything in the churches which had been used in old times—painted windows, bells, vestments, music and even the usual token of reverence, the custom of kneeling. These were all described as 'superstitious,' 'popish' or 'idoltrous.' The eminent Bishop Hooper, in Edward's time, had almost refused to be consecrated lest his wearing a surplice might imply 'idolatry.'

To men of such rigid views, small points were as important as great principles, and with such a mental attitude Elizabeth had no patience. When, on her visit to Oxford, she perceived the learned President of Magdalen, Humphrey, a conscientious objector to the

clerical dress required, in the flowing robes of a university doctor, she remarked : " Methinks this gown and habit becomes you very well, and I wonder that you are so straightlaced in your opinions."

To such eminent men as Humphrey, or old " Father Foxe," as she called the famous author of the *Book of Martyrs*, she allowed much latitude, but she would not permit a general disobedience to her regulations. To the extremists, or ' Puritans,' the comprehensive terms of the Thirty-nine Articles were no comfort. Tolerance was the Queen's principle, not theirs. What they craved was the total destruction of Romanists, and they demanded legislation to compel clergy and nation to use the ritual they themselves had admired in Geneva. They termed a carving or a cope " idolatry " or " sacrifice to idols." The spirit of Calvinism was as intolerant as that of the papacy : Calvin himself had burned a learned Protestant who disagreed with him upon the doctrine of the Trinity. In Geneva the code of morals and of Church discipline was a part of the State law ; men and women were put to death for sins against morals, children beaten for disrespectful words, and men excommunicated for kissing wife or child on a Sunday.

The preliminary to the establishment of the stern congregational system of Geneva, or the presbytery system of Holland and Scotland, was the weakening or abolition of the episcopal system, and from the middle of Elizabeth's reign this became the programme of the extremists. They endeavoured to influence the laity in this direction in sermons, which the reformers had always treated as a very important part of the Church service. Originally the aim of sermons was to teach the faith, but during the long controversies of this century the sermon was inevitably used for argument and propaganda. Elizabeth, therefore, forbade anyone to preach without the bishop's licence. Puritans, on the other hand, claimed the sermon as their most dignified duty, even to the extent of sometimes refusing to condescend to read the Liturgy or administer the Sacraments.

The puritan propagandists were often men whose austere conduct and earnest conviction won respect. Their doctrines of *predestination* and *election* not only entailed a complete system of theology, but were linked with an equally complete and rigid system of outward observance. The importance of sacraments was minimised, almost denied, and any ritual, or even reverent ceremony, which countenanced a sacramental view was to their mind wrong and ought to be forbidden ; for instance, the puritan attitude towards a surplice was, that by marking a man for a special office it denied the spiritual consecration of the congregation ; the surplice therefore was sinful. There was a wide gulf between Parker's view of the pope as merely an Italian bishop, and of the Roman Church as a church grievously in error, and the puritan view that the pope was *Antichrist* and Rome *Babylon*. They required the abolition of all emotional aids to reverence, condemning almost all beauty and

harmony, save the sounds of the untrained human voice, for to them, as to the ascetics of old, the beautiful things of material or intellectual life appeared to be instruments of temptation.

In spite of Parker's solicitude, the first separation of a body of clergy from the Church occurred after the appearance of his *Advertisements* in 1565, on the ground of the surplice. After interviewing the London clergy who felt their consciences troubled by the order, Parker contrived to conciliate two-thirds of them, but between thirty and forty persisted in refusing to conform and were at length deprived of their livings. Some of them refused to remain in the Church, although Knox and other revered leaders in Geneva and Zurich begged them not to desert their Church for such a reason. Some went to Holland and there founded the first Dutch congregations of English (1566). Others founded congregations at home, though the law forbade this and their meetings were frequently broken up and the preachers sent to prison.

The principal organiser of the separate congregations was one Robert Brown, after whom the sect was at first named *Brownists*. His own action was merely that of a very abusive itinerant orator, "preaching," as he called it, violent denunciations of the Church and the bishops. But as he was a relative of Burleigh he was continually released from the prisons which he seemed to seek so ardently. His followers and successors, however, were men of finer character.

A new movement began under Parker's successor, Archbishop Grindal (1576-83), who was not without sympathy for the puritan party. He countenanced local meetings of clergy and laity for reading, lectures, and discussion, which soon became popular. Unfortunately many of the lecturers did not confine themselves to edification, but touched upon political topics which the Queen and her ministers considered injudicious, and even disloyal. The 'prophesyings,' as these meetings were called, became increasingly like the presbyterian *classis* and assumed the character of meetings in opposition to the government and the episcopal Church. Elizabeth finally ordered them to be put down. Grindal resisted, not believing that they were political or dangerous, and she suspended him from certain of his judicial and organising functions, which, till his death in 1583, she entrusted to the archbishop of York. Grindal's successor, Whitgift (1583-1604), had been, like Parker, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and eminent both as preacher and teacher. His strongest conviction was that the Church of England needed unity and definiteness, and he continued Parker's work of organisation, together with a systematic education of the clergy, which in time engendered a purer and loftier spirit among them. His right hand was the statesmanlike Bancroft, who soon became bishop of London.

Whitgift agreed with much of the puritan doctrine, but he refused to allow, even to the most pious or learned, the privilege

of altering the usages of the Church services. Everyone was to use reverently the ceremonial and forms of worship which had been prescribed in the Prayer-book and by the Advertisements, and to maintain this order the authority of the bishops was fully enforced. Elizabeth altogether approved, and called Whitgift her "little black husband." She was glad to hand over to the bishops the exercise of royal authority in matters ecclesiastical.¹

This authority was exercised by a body of clergy and judges called the High Commission Court, because to it the Crown *committed* its powers, and in 1583 the court was made permanent and empowered to call before it persons who were suspected of not conforming to the laws passed by parliament on religious worship, while it enforced on the clergy conformity to the Articles and the rules of the arch-bishops.

Several editions of *Articles* giving a summary definition of the principal doctrines of the English Church were drawn up by Convocation and revised by the Queen. The Articles of 1563 formed the basis of the final *Thirty-nine Articles*.

Whitgift believed that the extreme Puritans were a small party, prominent through their energetic preaching and writing, and that strict, and if need be, severe treatment would destroy their influence. He had much justification for his view in the use made by Leicester and other politicians of the Puritans as a political party. Nobody could credit Leicester with genuine religious feeling, and his patronage of puritan agitation was clearly a mode of opposition to Burleigh, of whom he was always jealous, as he was of every man in favour with the queen. Whitgift and the High Commission Court steadily depressed the Puritans, while parliament and the ordinary judges as determinedly tried to suppress Romanism.

Up to 1569, prosecution, or even inquiry, of Romanists had been discouraged by the government, and their meeting-places were hardly kept secret. In St. Paul's Cathedral, where the great nave was still, as it had been for centuries, the ordinary meeting-place of gossips, friends, commercial men, speculators, politicians and writers of newsletters, the spots where recusants usually gathered were nicknamed "papists' corner" and "liars' bench," but they had not been interfered with by the authorities.

But the bull whereby Pius V absolved Romanists from their oaths of allegiance at once provoked retaliation. The Treason law was extended so as to include priests who, under the pretext of administering the rites of their religion, secretly conveyed to their patrons letters instigating them to treason. Parliament even made all papal letters "*præmunire*," and any conversion to Romanism treason (1571). The government at first treated the priests leniently, inflicting on them only brief imprisonments, but the increasing treasonableness of their activities led to severer penalties, and several were executed, for treason, *i. e.* inciting to rebellion or assassination.

¹ The "proud prelate, I will unfrock you," letter is a fiction.

The queen could hardly discountenance the zeal of the Association formed in 1584 to protect her from papist plots, or disregard the entreaties of her ministers, who spent half their energies in tracing and frustrating the emissaries of the pope and the Jesuits. So that, rather against her will, she permitted much more severe treatment of the recusants. The murder plots of the 'eighties made local authorities keen to hunt down foreign or secret intriguers, and in the 'nineties the laws were made more drastic and very difficult to evade. Romanists were ruined or had to leave the country, and frequently encouraged their children to conform. The defeat of the Armada was discouraging to the recusants, the Jesuits were discountenanced, and for the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign the Roman-catholics ceased to conspire and were content to wait upon the future.

Controversies take up a larger space in history than the steady work of evangelisation which was going on in many parts of England throughout the reign. The first clear exposition of the tenets and ideals of the English Church since its rejection of the papacy was written by Bishop Jewel, of Salisbury, whose *Defence of the Church of England* answered many questions.¹ His pastoral work in his own diocese proved the strongest antidote to the propaganda of either Romanist or Puritan agitators, and it was to him that the career of the more famous Richard Hooker was due.

In the far North the labours of Bernard Gilpin, a nephew of the revered Tunstall, gave a practical illustration of the ideals and standards of the Church in Northumberland and Durham, which he spent his life in evangelising.

Hooker belongs to the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, and his full influence was not felt in his own generation. Through Jewel he became a student at Oxford, and through a nephew of Cranmer he was made known to the archbishop of York (Sandys), whose influence caused him to be made Master of the Temple. His thoughtful judicious sermons in explanation of the position of the English Church made him famous, and at the desire of the two archbishops he wrote his great work on *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, which forms the exposition of the philosophy of the Church of England.

Hooker and Archbishop Bancroft may almost be said to have begun a second reformation, consisting in the study of principles deeper and broader than the controversies of Calvin or the Jesuits. Their consistent teaching gave to the English Church an individual character, and showed her to be, no mere compromise, but a national development. In the next generation Andrewes and Cosin, Hales and Chillingworth, Ferrar and Herbert, Laud and Juxon, are their spiritual sons.

¹ *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*

XIX

THE SOCIAL EVOLUTION (1529-1603)

DURING the sixteenth century so much alteration became noticeable in the whole system of society that it amounted to little less than a revolution, accomplished, indeed, without general civil war, but involving much distress and disturbance. Not religion and education alone were changing, but the entire system of landholding, the relative importance of the gentlemen, and of London, and the relations of commerce and manufactures with each other and with agriculture. Some of these changes had been in progress in the fifteenth century, but the pace became more rapid in Tudor times, so that novelties were forced on public notice.

(1) LAND.—The change in the landholders, due partly to the results of the civil wars, but more to the Act of 1529, forbidding ecclesiastics to trade, and the dissolution of the monasteries, involved much more than a simple change in the person of the lord. (a) Numbers of estates, in every county, came into the hands of men who exacted high money rents instead of the old combination of small payments, contributions in kind, and a good deal of slack labour, and the tenants found themselves turned out of homes they had thought their own for life. (b) Sometimes landlords cleared out tenants in order to make large sheep-walks; this was the case, especially, in the first half of the century, and had nothing to do with confiscations of Church lands. (c) Besides the sudden raising of rents and eviction of families, the growing practice of enclosing, by hedges or walls, separate small ‘closes,’ which we now call fields, was a cause of complaint. *Field* in the old time meant the wide-open stretches of cornland, in which every house had its strips, and the whole of which was thrown open to the cattle after harvest. People now began to take their own portions of arable, pasture, moor or woodland. This enabled the land to be much better tilled, but in the division the richer men always got the best portions, leaving the worse land to the poor, and making the *common* land so small that it would not provide feed for the poor men’s beasts. Bishop Latimer, who strenuously taught that Christian faith must be shown in a Christian life, drew a picture of the change as he had experienced it:—

“ My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen

men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able [*well-to-do*], and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while [*when*] he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath field [1497]. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm: where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor."

However selfishly individuals might act, from the haughty duke of Buckingham or the covetous Dudley, to the small gentry who, as in Norfolk, set up dovecotes and made warrens to keep pigeons and rabbits fattening on other men's crops, parliament as a whole often showed its conviction of the ruin which would threaten the country if the peasant holders were driven from the land. These, they say again and again, are the backbone of the nation: they are the body of the State: they furnish the king's soldiers and form the defence of the country. Accordingly a series of Acts forbade landlords to pull down small houses, to turn arable land into sheep-walks, or eject tenants from village property (1484, 1495, 1504, 1515, 1533, etc.). But men escaped by legal quibbles, or terrified their tenants into 'voluntary' agreements, or even paid the fines, making more profit from their breach of the law.

Next, government tried Commissions, orders from the Council or proceedings in the Star Chamber or the Council of the North. At last the Acts of Elizabeth (1597-1601) returned to the plan of Henry VII and ordered the landlord to keep up "Houses of Husbandry," meaning the homes of agricultural employers and workers, and directed that new cottages must have at least four acres of land assigned to each in the south-west and midland counties and the region affected by the rising of 1569,¹ so that the poorer should not depend solely on wages. This time the Acts were better enforced because the local authorities were kept up to their work by the Council.

(2) THE GENTLEMEN.—The new owners of land were for the most part ambitious squires or knights who had made money in commerce and had purchased forfeited or Church lands from the Crown;

¹ The main part of the 1597 Act did not apply to (a) Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, Herts, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk—already much enclosed and thickly populated, or to (b) the west from Staffs. and Warwicks. and the Severn to Cumberland—where there was ample moorland and woodland. The counties affected by the Act had all been disturbed by revolts.

or, perhaps, had served royal ministers and been paid in Church lands. They were no longer satisfied with looking after a few country manors, but, grasping and energetic, meant to make themselves important in their county. The prominent buildings of the fertile country districts were now to be the gentlemen's homes: Chatsworth, Haddon, Beaudesert, Hatfield, Buxton, Theobalds, and scores of other famous houses rose between 1530 and 1600, and round their mansions the rich new lords wanted private parks. This was typical of the new social system. The ancient great families had nearly died out, and such castles as were not ruinous had become Crown strongholds or prisons. Military feudalism was dead, and through the new class of able and wealthy gentlemen the Tudors ruled, so that they came to dominate society and politics during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a characteristic of that especial creation of the Tudors, the navy, that its administrators and leaders (from Reginald Bray to Drake and Hawkins, 1487-1597), were men of this middle class, working under almost direct command of the sovereign. Side by side with these "new men," as the old nobles termed them (just as they had done in the time of the first Henries), stood the great merchants, not now of Hull or Bristol, but only of London.

(3) TOWNS.—London was drawing to itself the wealth and brains of the country more generally than before. Under the Tudors the court was always in London or close to it, at Greenwich, or Hampton Court, or Windsor; outlying palaces, such as Hunsdon or Knowle, made suitable gifts for eminent servants, or served for a refuge while the plague was raging. Elizabeth's frequent and splendid progresses, to visit the earl of Arundel in Surrey or the earl of Leicester at Kenilworth, and even to such wilder districts as Derbyshire, were useful and popular. But Henry VIII, Edward and Mary seldom moved far from the capital; government, therefore, except for the great local Councils, was conducted in London, and those who were concerned in it, as well as all concerned with the law, parliament or the court, had to live in London. This resulted in a great deal of building, especially during Elizabeth's reign, and the suburbs grew so rapidly as to frighten the authorities. They feared plague, and could not believe that a population so vast could be either fed or kept in order. Plague, certainly, became almost a permanent disease. The City authorities made it, as we should now say, "notifiable." Householders were commanded to let the Lord Mayor know if a case occurred, and the house was then shut up and no one allowed to go out or in until all within were dead or cured, and the place had been cleansed. Disorder, too, was continual, and grew worse in spite of the personal efforts of the Recorder and his staff of constables. They went round the streets at night, entering suspected houses and taking to prison all the bad characters they could catch. But they found that

the numerous *privileged* premises, such as the sanctuary precincts round Westminster Abbey and in the Savoy, as well as the foreign embassies, were haunts of hundreds of robbers, nor could they get these privileges abolished, partly from the sentiment of kindness to the poor, partly because of the profits which a host of persons made out of the fees paid by the bad characters. There were a number of houses known as regular thieves' haunts; others for recusant plotters, with secret entrances and hidden passages. There were receiving houses for shop-lifters and schools for pick-pockets. But what surprised the Recorder more than the numbers of robbers was the appearance of a new class of bullies. Young men studying in the Inns of Court, or for other causes in town, gentlemen's sons, used to go about in groups, committing all kinds of insolence and violence, and claiming that, as *gentlemen born*,¹ they were above the City regulations and should have allowance made for their fashions and follies. This was a new claim in England, though it might remind travellers of Paris. A local knight and Justice, who was told by the corporation of Leicester that a demand he had made was against their duty and liberties, proudly replied to Mr. Mayor: "You and your town have no reason to offer me this wrong, for if you be able to cross me in one thing, I can requite your town with twenty, and therefore I wish you not to begin with me, for as I am a gentleman I will be revenged one way or another to my contentment and to your dislikes. . . . Yours as you use me, J. GRAY." (1599).

It looked as if a new kind of feudalism were rearing its head.

In other towns than London the conditions of trade were changing, and foreign commerce seems, under Elizabeth, to have been attracted to London to the exclusion of other ports: Bristol, Southampton, Hull, and all the east, from Boston and Lynn to Swanage, continually complained that they were decaying. Only the Devonshire ports, busy with West India adventure, and the Government ports for Ireland (Chester and Liverpool) could refrain from lamentation. The increasing size of ships caused deep-water harbours to flourish, while the old river-harbours, like Boston or Bridgwater, declined, and something was no doubt due to a falling off in French business, during the troubles in that land. But there was a good reason for complaining whenever possible, since subsidies were paid by the towns as units, and the heart of government could often be softened to remit something to a place which could point to decaying houses or deserted wharves. Still, when the same sad wail arises steadily from great inland towns, such as York, Coventry and Leicester, which last roundly declared that its High Street had been falling to ruin "these forty years,"—the reason must be sought elsewhere—in new habits, the rise of new towns, and a change in continental commerce.

(1) A part of the truth was the inclination of many well-to-do

¹ Cf. *Twelfth Night*, Act IV. sc. 2.

merchants to live in suburbs or country houses outside the City, and there they did not pay the tax. This habit becomes more marked as the sixteenth century progresses. Every visitation of plague gave a reason, while in many places the tyranny of the gilds led employers to take their business into the country, where the gild rules could not be enforced.

(2) The rise of new towns, which have to-day outgrown many of the medieval towns, dates from the Tudor century. When Henry VIII and, after his death, the Council, ruined nearly all the gilds by confiscating their property, the masters and skilled workmen who had composed most of them were still for a time able to continue their traditional policy in the large towns, either by means of the corporations, or with help of the Council, or the House of Commons. Their prohibitive rules had the same effect as before, of driving away both population and prosperity. York might keep Kendal cloth out of its markets, Leicester forbid the glovers of Loughborough and Ashby to buy skins from Leicester tanners, and Liverpool impose fines upon "foreigners from Rochdale," but it was York, Leicester and Liverpool which were injured in the result, for it followed that new-comers from abroad and men seeking work went to places which would not impose such regulations, or had not a mayor and corporation competent to do so, or which, lying in the royal Duchy of Lancaster, or within the sphere of the Council of the North, were exempt from many rules laid down for the older manufacturing towns.

While York was refusing to receive refugees from Flanders, and Norwich was trying to turn out those whom the government had settled there, the villages of the Stroud valley were welcoming them, and Manchester, Sheffield, Bradford, Leeds and Birmingham, too, were growing rapidly. Few questions were asked of new-comers, provided they would work. Manchester was famous for its white cloths at the beginning of the century, and drove a thriving trade with Ireland. Liverpool had at last begun to recover from the Wars of the Roses, Sheffield had some three hundred master cutlers before the end of Elizabeth's reign, and the earl of Shrewsbury, lord of the Castle, thought a case of Sheffield knives a choice present for his friend Burleigh.

Bradford, which had remained for two centuries in the Lilliputian stage it had already reached in the thirteenth—a comfortable village with the privileges of a market town—had under Henry VIII become a busy place making woollen cloth, and Leeds began soon to rival it. Leeds was large enough to require a grammar school in 1551, and in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth was sufficiently independent and well organised to purchase the advowson of its own church, and so secure that the townsmen should obtain the religious teaching they preferred.

Another centre of fresh industries which sprang up in Tudor times, unnoticed by the eyes of government, lay at the junction of

Staffordshire and Warwickshire, almost at the south-easterly limit of the midland forest district. Birmingham was still a country manor in the time of Henry VIII, but thriving enough to whet the cupidity of Dudley (afterwards earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland), who by a nefarious conspiracy stole it from its rightful manor lord. In 1586 it was "swarming with inhabitants and echoing with the noise of anvils," having become the home of innumerable smiths, nailers and lorimers (makers of bits and stirrups), who were supplied by the neighbouring iron-field, which



HATFIELD HOUSE.

From a photograph by Chester Vaughan.

was now being worked, while the adjacent forest of Arden provided ample fuel. Coal was also worked in the Birmingham district but it could not yet be applied to furnaces for smelting.

PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND COMMERCE

The contrast of wealth and poverty had been a startling and a permanent problem from the days of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. All political changes and wars, all novelties in commerce and habits, new sources of wealth and adventure, seemed to add equally to the numbers of the wealthy and the numbers of the poor. Under the Tudors, from the coming of Henry VII and long before any alteration in the Church system, the puzzling increase of wandering beggars formed a problem so obvious that it had to be dealt with, but not till the latter part of Elizabeth's reign was

an effort made sufficiently general and energetic to produce much effect.

A considerable addition to the number of vagrants was made by the dissolution of the monasteries and hospitals, which had regularly supported a host of such people, and by the arrival of numbers of travelling beggars out of Scotland, called "Egyptians," who evidently were gipsies.

Many laws were made by Tudor parliaments to try to secure (1) that the helpless poor should be succoured, (2) that the children should be trained to a useful employment, and (3) that the wilfully idle, or "sturdy beggars," should be made to work, these three classes being always carefully distinguished. Parliament laid down the rule (which had already been accepted in 1388) that the locality to which a poor person belonged ought to relieve his distress. But beggars would not stay in one place, nor did their native place wish to keep them. In 1535 the authorities of every county, hundred, parish and town were commanded, on pain of a fine, to find work for the able-bodied and alms for the helpless, and a collection of money for the latter was to be made in church every Sunday. But no machinery as yet existed to compel these authorities to observe the law, and beggary went on increasing, while the misery of the poor turned out of hospitals and convents was very great. York, for instance, lost ninety small hospitals;¹ in London it required the strongest representations from the most important citizens to rescue a few from the greed of Henry VIII, and thus were refounded the now famous hospitals of St. Bartholomew's and St. George's. The laws of Edward VI's parliaments, however, were harsher than those of his father. Able-bodied beggars were to be made slaves and assigned to those who wanted workmen. The severity of this law defeated its aim (as several times has happened), for English judges and juries would not inflict such a penalty, and it was soon repealed and a further appeal made (1551) to charity. An order was issued that collectors of alms should be chosen, in each locality, who were to get men to promise regular subscriptions, and to collect them; then those who refused to give were to be rebuked by the clergy.

For another decade parliament clung to the hope that voluntary charity would do even more than the monks, hospitals and guilds whose endowments parliament had swept away. People unwilling to help were first to be admonished by the churchwardens, then by the clergy, then by the magistrates, then by the bishops, and at last put to open penance. But ecclesiastical rebukes had lost their terrors, and Elizabeth directed a Commission to investigate the whole matter. Then the vain appeals to charity ceased, and in 1562 the principle of a compulsory rate was adopted. Several Acts worked out the system (1572, 1577, 1592), and finally the great Poor Law Act of 1601 established the new system.

¹ *I. e.* asylums where a certain number of aged or destitute folk were looked after by an endowed religious fraternity.

The Justices of each county, in Quarter Sessions, or the governing body in a city, were directed to compute the number of the helpless poor, find them somewhere to live, apprentice children to those who could train them, establish Houses of Correction for the obstinately idle and criminal, and places "to set on work such as be lusty and have their limbs strong to labour," that they might become self-supporting. The aged and helpless were to be conveyed to the places where they had lived before, so as to be maintained by those who had known them. The cost of all this was to be estimated by the Justices and raised by a *rate*, which was to be levied "according to the ability" of each householder, not by a hard-and-fast rule, but taking into account all his means. Old soldiers were to be pensioned on the same plan, by payments taken throughout the parish. The reason why many of the brave men who faced the Armada suffered so painfully after the great fight was, not the cruelty of the government, but the fact that the fleet had chased the enemy up to the North Sea, so that the sailors had to come ashore where they could on the east coast, and, being probably disease-stricken, could not reach their homes. At that time there were no post offices, or other government offices or agents whereby they could communicate with the paymasters, who had their pay ready at the government dockyards on the south coast, and the public feeling seems to have been extremely callous.

The most difficult part of the law to carry out was that which directed that the able-bodied were to have employment provided for them by the parish, though it could be combined with the training of the children. The cost was so great that few parishes could carry out all that was required. In the towns it was possible to establish a factory, usually for knitting or weaving, where the destitute could be put to work, either at the town's cost (as in Leeds, York, Leicester and Wakefield), or at that of some individual speculator (as in Manchester), upon goods which were sold to provide for the maintenance and wages of those employed. But though the employers were directed to pay the workers according to the quality of the work done, it was inevitable that, as a rule, the work would be bad, and the employers would take care to make a profit for themselves.

COMMERCE

The Elizabethan parliaments endeavoured to distinguish between different districts which had varying needs, and also between classes of people and groups of industries. They wanted to produce permanent conditions, so that people should not wander, and to state some broad limits which could be observed, for almost the whole of the legislation on agriculture, industry, poverty, religious worship, and the keeping of order generally, had to be carried out by the hard-worked Justices of the Peace, the local constables and similar busy officials.

In 1563 a great code of trades and wages was drawn up (Statute of Artificers). It was not to be left to each man or woman to do exactly as he or she chose. In that case there would soon be too many in a pleasant trade and too few in another. Certain occupations which required capital, and which had always been the very profitable professions of the better-to-do, were now legally reserved for them. Goldsmiths, ironmongers, drapers, clothiers and mercers might not take apprentices (outside their own families) unless the parent of the boy possessed at least 40*s.* a year income, *i. e.* from his own property. Weavers of fine cloth were still more precisely limited, while simpler and more necessary trades were unrestricted. Masters might not dismiss servants or workmen, nor workmen leave their masters, for slight causes on pain of fine. Apprentices were to serve their seven years, and large employers, *i. e.* those who kept over three apprentices, had also to employ and pay journeymen (grown-up, trained hands). All who were not in boyhood apprenticed to a trade were obliged to become agricultural labourers and to work for the first employer who required them; similarly, unmarried women between twelve and forty were ordered to go into domestic service. Apprentices and farm labourers lived in their masters' houses and had their board, and the labourers and servants had wages also. But all the young workers, apprenticed or not, were now to be *bound* till they reached the age of twenty-four: whereas, in the richer classes, girls and lads were considered independent at fourteen and seventeen, respectively.

A code of maximum wages was outlined, and at the same time the Justices were charged to make complete lists for their own districts, and in order to prevent them from shirking their onerous and unpopular duties they were promised a fee of 5*s.* a day when they attended the statutory meeting, and threatened with a fine of £5 if they absented themselves.

This Act of 1563 seems to be the first statute which recognises the conflicting claims of town and country life, and it clearly assumes that a town life was likely to be preferred.

Had it been entirely carried out, the poorer country folk would have sunk back into a kind of villenage, especially as there was a shortage of cottages and the law for providing four acres with each unintentionally checked building. But happily for the people a variety of causes, including the persecutions of Protestants and Huguenots on the continent, caused the introduction of many new industries here, and these the Council energetically encouraged with the especial view of "setting the poor on work." Early in Elizabeth's reign the Crown opened new lead mines in Derbyshire, and fresh iron and coal works in the Forest of Dean and round Bristol. The iron-works of Sussex, Kent and Surrey were set busy in producing guns, which the naval men declared to be better than any to be had from abroad, though much of the gunpowder, or the saltpetre for it, had still to be fetched from the continent. The

consumption of wood fuel in the mining fields became a matter of anxiety; re-planting was attended to in the Dean and Arden districts.

It must always be borne in mind that different towns and different districts were not all at the same level. Law and justice were much fairer within reach of London and the Council than in the West and North. The records, *e.g.*, of Shrewsbury in this reign, suggest habitual bullying or bribery. Manchester forbade women to engage in business in order to 'protect' men householders. The difference in customs was thus commented on in a letter of the time: "We take him for a tall man that dare take the wall of a prentice in London, of a scholar in Oxford, or of a cow in York," since to *take the wall* was to take the safe, clean place which by chivalrous persons was assigned to women and the weak, but was apt to be assumed by the swaggerer.¹

There was also a change in continental commerce, which affected England. First, war between Flanders (Burgundy) and France, then Spanish mismanagement and tyranny, had undermined the prosperity of the old Flemish manufacturing towns, while the merchants of Antwerp and of the Holland and Zeeland ports were becoming general importers and exporters of East and West Indian products, instead of importing wool and exporting manufactured cloth. This affected the English wool ports and the old market towns which had supplied them, and checked the excessive sheep-farming, and much shifting of population and industry resulted before our home manufactures were able to absorb as much wool as the foreign markets had done formerly. Capitalists, town corporations and the government of Elizabeth, all did their best to encourage new manufactures, among which were the making of paper, needles, woollen caps and hat-bands, glass-blowing, pressing oil from seeds, the cultivation of flax, hemp, woad, saffron and hops, alum works (for dyeing), copper and lead mines and mills for beating hemp (for ropes). In time the new industries absorbed many of the landless poor and of the wandering beggars, and then, in return, the new manufactures, especially the development of cloth-working in the West Riding, encouraged, or probably really created, the growth of a new continental trade.

The efforts of the Merchant Adventurers, since Henry VII, and of the Eastland Company under Elizabeth, succeeded in opening to English merchants the trade of the Baltic. The thick, warm cloth of our northern towns could go direct from York and Hull to Denmark, Scandinavia, Russia, and, especially, to Poland, which country, groaning under the despotism of the German Hanse League, was very ready to join with English merchants to break it.

By the end of Elizabeth's reign the exertions of the government and local enterprise had achieved considerable success. The crowds

¹ *Let the weaker go to the wall* was a literal and chivalrous precaution in fighting or travelling.

of wandering beggars were diminished—some absorbed by the new industries, a smaller proportion in naval or military adventures, some by workhouses and almshouses. For, in spite of the era of confiscation, public spirit had not been killed, and under Elizabeth the record of friendly charity begins again, almshouses and schools being the favourite form in which pious founders sought to benefit their old homes. Perhaps it is significant that among the favourite books of the age were Latimer's Sermons, which Shakespeare read, and of which edition after edition was printed.



ST. PAUL'S, EAST FRONT, AFTER THE SPIRE HAD FALLEN.

XX

AFTER THE ARMADA (1588-1603)

(A) THE CONTINUED WAR WITH SPAIN

THE defeat of the Spanish Armada was the crisis of the reign of Elizabeth, but in the long war it formed a turning-point and not a conclusion. The struggle between freedom and despotism, in which the liberty of both religion and commerce was involved, was raging on the continent more fiercely than ever, and was to rage for a generation longer. The English victory was celebrated by national and royal thanksgivings in Scotland, Denmark, Sweden and Navarre, and by Geneva and some of the German states. In France the miserable Henri III, still vacillating between the Catholic League and the Huguenots, concluded that the latter now must be the winning party, and had the two Guises assassinated. "It is well cut out, my son," murmured his dying mother, Catherine de' Medici, "but it has to be sewn together." The king was proceeding to "sew" his plan by making alliance with the Huguenot leader, young Henry of Navarre, when he and his plan and Elizabeth's cheerful hopes therein were struck down by the dagger of Clément, a Jesuit pupil who thus avenged the murdered Guises (1589), and France beheld a limitless prospect of civil war. For the League was by no means dead, and Roman-catholic France refused to accept the King of Navarre (the famous Henri IV) so long as he remained a Huguenot, though he was undoubtedly the lineal heir to the crown.

To her alliance with France Elizabeth had clung persistently. When a councillor suggested to her that the weakness of France offered England the opportunity of recovering Guienne and Calais, she replied that the last day of the kingdom of France would assuredly see the end also of the kingdom of England, and she now strained her resources to support Henri IV. She not only sent troops, under the experienced Lord Willoughby, but used her credit on the continent, through her financial agents, to obtain for him loans of money from German or Dutch bankers. Philip II instigated his cousin the Emperor to forbid the bankers to supply any funds, but it was difficult to supervise the international fairs, and Henri obtained some assistance.

The defeat of the Armada had also given a great relief to the Netherlands, which had now definitely renounced Philip's sovereignty

and declared themselves independent by the name of "The United Provinces." Thus there was an informal triple alliance (of England, the Provinces and France) against the dual alliance of the Hapsburg sovereigns of Spain and the Empire, in order to secure the national independence of the three countries against the great military power which was trying to control the European system. It was the first of many alliances for the same purpose, all inspired by a similar conviction, that the slavery of one would lead to the slavery of all, and based on a similar hope, that by joint action the smaller countries would be able to keep themselves safe and free in spite of the greater wealth and strength of their opponent. Thus the policy of Elizabeth first practised the principle which afterwards was known as that of providing a *Balance of Power* among the states of Europe.

The raids of the English upon the sources of Philip II's wealth were not made by Drake alone, though his name was by far the most terrible to foreign ears. Cavendish had followed on Drake's track round the world in the Armada year, and plundered the Spaniards in the Pacific, while the West Indian seas, the Mexico coast, and the Azores were continually harried by English and French privateers. In consequence, Philip II had been building ships of war, and his naval yards had become so efficient that within three years of the destruction of his first Armada its losses were repaired, and Spaniards began to cope with the English upon more equal terms. But just when Spain became more powerful at sea, English naval effort slackened, for Elizabeth and Burleigh were anxious to support France and the United Provinces, and the resources of England were hardly equal to both a European war and an ocean offensive at once. It has been reckoned that between 1590 and the end of the queen's reign three millions were expended upon military expeditions and only half a million on the fleet.

Other reasons were that the expedition of Drake and Norris to Cadiz in 1589, which Drake designed as a repetition of his earlier exploit, proved a failure, partly from the impossible instructions with which the queen had hampered them, partly from the dissensions among the commanders; and partly because the deaths of Leicester (1588) and Walsingham (1590) had removed the strongest advocates of the 'deep-sea policy' of warfare. Robert Cecil, Burleigh's son, replaced Walsingham, and the cautious policy was still in the ascendant.

It was not very successful: Spanish armies were concentrating upon Henri IV, and actually established themselves in forts and harbours on the Brittany coast, whence they could attack either England or France. From Brittany Norris and Frobisher at length expelled them (1591, 1594), but at the cost of the latter's life. Penzance was burnt by a Spanish squadron in 1595, Calais taken in 1596, and next year an attempt made to land in Ireland was foiled only by a storm.

Henri saw that he could not cope with Spanish invasion as well as with French rebels, and he conciliated the latter by accepting Roman



QUEEN ELIZABETH
FROM A PAINTING BY ZUCCHERO

Facing p. 176

Catholicism. He was then accepted as the national king (1593) and was able to wage a more determined war upon Philip II, in whom the French saw a national enemy masked as a champion of religion.

The English naval operations of the decade 1588-1598 were disappointing; only privateering expeditions were permitted by the queen—semi-private undertakings on the shareholding plan. Among them may be mentioned Raleigh's voyage to the Orinoco (1595), and that of Drake and the now aged Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies (1595-1596). Both expeditions were failures, and Drake and Hawkins died in the tropics; Cumberland avenged them in 1598 by sacking Porto Rico.

By this time the young earl of Essex, who was recognised after Leicester's death as the leading court favourite, had established so strong an influence over the ageing queen that he could often sway her decisions as no favourite had yet succeeded in doing. He adopted Leicester's policy of naval aggression, and a third and very elaborate expedition was, in 1596, directed against Cadiz, commanded by a galaxy of talents—Essex himself, old Admiral Howard, Raleigh and Sir Francis Vere. The brilliant men, however, disagreed too much, and Essex proved too touchy and selfish to be a competent commander. A great destruction was wrought, however, among the Spanish fleet, and Cadiz laid in ashes. The disgrace to Philip was indelible. Essex and Raleigh damaged their reputations, next year, by making a fiasco of what should have been a decisive expedition to the Azores, the famous *Island Voyage*. But Philip's attempts to invade Ireland (1597, 1598) also failed, and his death soon after (1598) left the crown of Spain to a young and inexperienced monarch. Philip III in vain tried to inaugurate his reign by renewing the Irish expedition; the report of his intention fired such activity in England that in eleven days the necessary mobilisation was completed, and Elizabeth's position was recognised as impregnable. "Her majesty was never more feared for anything that she did," reported her envoy in France.

Just before his death, Philip II had endeavoured to simplify his son's task by making overtures for peace to the English government (1597). In the light of the past no one believed them to be genuine, and he then turned to France, resolved to be rid of one enemy at least. Henri IV obtained excellent terms and made the Peace of Vervins, 1598, to the great indignation of Elizabeth. But there was not then much serious danger for England, and the war became little more than a permanent condition of privateering. Burleigh had died a few weeks before Philip, and Elizabeth was left herself the last representative of the great Elizabethan statesmen.

(B) THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND

The loss of Burleigh was felt to be a blow to the State by all save the overweening Essex. "He was our great pilot," wrote a courtier,

"on whom all cast their eyes and sought their safety. The queen's Highness doth often speak of him in tears and turn aside when he is discoursed of, nay, even forbiddeth any mention of his name to be made in the Council." Both the public and the personal loss to her was irreparable. She and Burleigh had been for forty years almost as one in policy: the assassination plots always included both. Little that is dramatic or sensational attends his name: early in life he had chosen his path, and he never deviated from it: he was the greatest pilot of his country on that course of moderation, of the "golden mean" (as the Greeks would say), which he and his fellow-students had probably learnt to understand in their Cambridge days, for William Cecil was the close friend of two famous scholars, John Cheke and Anthony Cooke; his first wife was Cheke's sister; his second, Cooke's daughter—two of the most intellectual women in England. It is characteristic of him that early friends such as Henry Sidney, Nicholas Bacon, and Thomas Smith held fast to him through life. Self-controlled, disinterested and unostentatious, a man of unshakable resolve and calm judgment, endowed with a flawless memory and powers of rapid and tireless work, he shirked no responsibility, yet thought no detail unimportant. He was served by a secret service of his own creation, which never failed and never betrayed him, and by colleagues and subordinates who, like himself, placed the work before the reward and endured neglect and unfair blame philosophically. "You have been ill used, but you have also been well used," he once reminded a less patient colleague. Burleigh was content to wield power quietly and to live for England. Rarely has such a sovereign found such a minister. "His illness," wrote a courtier, "did marvellously trouble the Queen, who saith 'that her comfort hath been in her people's happiness, and their happiness in his discretion.'" "Serve God by serving of the Queen, for all other service is indeed bondage to the devil," ran the last lines which he painfully wrote to his son Robert. It was the conclusion to which experience had led the generation of Burleigh.

The last few years of Elizabeth's reign were not troubled by warfare except in Ireland. Her ministers and courtiers were carefully making, if they had not already made, their arrangements with the king of Scots, who was seen to be her only possible successor on the throne. "Most men," she would say, "do commonly neglect the setting sun," but she was duly honoured to the last, except by the man upon whose gratitude and loyalty she had the strongest claim. Even the ambitious members of the House of Commons, claiming in 1601 an independence of authority never before heard of in their House, desisted from pressing their claims and grievances to the extent desired, from a reluctance to inflict annoyance upon their aged sovereign. They had brought forward in the House with great heat the question of monopolies: it was actually suggested that the Crown had no right to grant them. It would have been difficult for even the imaginative legal antiquaries of that day to

make out such a claim, but the prerogative which was so dear to Elizabeth was less dear to her than the popular affection which had, through her long reign, been her principal safeguard. When she saw the height to which resentment was mounting, she ordered Sir Robert Cecil to inform the House that she revoked the whole series of those grants of monopoly which were not simply protections for new inventions, and many of the members even burst into tears in their joy and relief at so quick and gracious a response to their wishes.

A similar subsidence seemed to have calmed religious strife. The Roman-catholics hoped for favour when the new sovereign should arrive, and had nothing to gain by irritating the old queen or the parliament, while the more extreme Puritans either were cowed for the time by Whitgift's unbending severity, or exiled themselves from England, first to Holland, then, eventually, across the Atlantic. Elizabeth is said to have approved of this solution of the question. Evidently to her the unity of the Church within its episcopal system was a national and State principle, rather than a universal rule; nor did she assume that the "plantations" must perpetuate English systems. They might very well serve as safety-valves.

(C) COMMERCE AND POLITICS

Another long-vexed question, half political and half commercial, was now finally decided—that of the HANSE LEAGUE and its privileges in this country. From the fourteenth century London merchants had continually complained that the German cities which formed this powerful league would not grant to English merchants similar privileges in the Baltic towns. Our east-coast ports, headed by Lynn, had gallantly striven to maintain the right of English ships and merchants to trade in the Baltic; from the time of Henry VII the Merchant Adventurers' Company, formed in the interests of London exporters and supported by other seaports, especially Bristol, and at times by the government, waged an unequal but valiant struggle to get admission to the German, Polish and Russian continental trade. A natural, if informal, alliance between England and Denmark-Norway, and, in Elizabeth's reign, with Poland, had resulted, with the aim of resisting the Germanic monopoly, which, in fact, was being slowly broken down.

When the great war began the Hanse League became one of the principal supports of Philip II. In that League, rather than the official Imperial government, resided the real naval, and much of the financial, strength of the Germanic empire, and its power was heartily enlisted in the Spanish-Hapsburg cause, in the expectation that Spanish success would ensure a German monopoly of ocean commerce and German control of the Russian-Polish natural resources as well as of Scandinavian trade. Remonstrances were addressed to the Hanse by the queen's government, both on the maltreatment of Englishmen and on the supplies sent to the king of Spain. The Hanse

retorted that they were but neutral traders; let England buy up their wares instead. It was the first striking experience of that problem of *Neutral Trade* which was destined to become so urgent in the great wars of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. At the end of 1578 a severe decree was issued against the Hanse towns, and their principal London settlement, the famous *Steelyard*, was threatened, but for another decade the execution of the threat was delayed, from motives of prudence. In the 'eighties English privateers were raiding Hanseatic fleets, and by 1587 the Hanse assistance to Spain attained the practical proportions of an offensive alliance, and met with its due reward, numbers of German ships being captured in the Cadiz and Armada expeditions (1587-1589). Even then the Queen and Council only confiscated the *contraband* (ships' timber, cordage and canvas, gunpowder, army provisions, etc.) as to which the Hanse had been warned long before. Such blows produced a meeker temper, and war stores were thenceforth only smuggled to Spain when the Hanse were certified that the terrible Drake was at a safe distance from their sea-route.

After 1588 Elizabeth could be bolder; various rights and privileges were withdrawn from the Hanse, while other and friendly foreign ports were encouraged. Finally, in January 1597, the Hanse towns were altogether forbidden to trade in this country, and Polish merchants were welcomed only on condition that they did not act as factors for the Hanse. In 1598 the Lord Mayor was commissioned to take possession of the *Steelyard*, which very fittingly became a naval storehouse. So English trade was freed from foreign bonds and intrigues and the German League received a mortal wound which resulted in the freeing of the Baltic seas to the surrounding nations.

This event marks the close of a long medieval episode. England had been, hitherto, a receptive nation, accepting commercial direction, as it did ideas, from the continent. The Hanse League had played a large part as purveyor to the nation of finished foreign goods and, unintentionally, as an instructor in commercial methods, though we owed quite as much to Italian and Flemish example. But England had been struggling, from the fourteenth century, to become independent and to supply herself in commerce, and under the Tudors she succeeded, just as she became more independent in political aims and ideas.

England now no longer exported raw materials, which she had learned to use herself; she began to import raw materials (hemp, flax, leather, corn and malt), and she wanted to export finished goods, especially cloth.

While the Hanse was being strangled the EAST INDIA COMPANY was being born. This ranks as the greatest of the Companies which presided over the development of English commerce and the creation of the British Empire. Already in medieval times the *Merchants of the Staple* had organised that wool export which formed the founda-

tion of our national financial history. Then came the *Merchant Adventurers*, who gradually superseded the *Staplers*, and throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created and defended our early export of cloth, in English ships, to the North Sea and the Baltic, bringing back the hemp, timber and corn of Poland and Russia, so that English wares became known in the extensive kingdom of Poland. From 1553 there existed a special *Russia Company*



DRAKE'S SHIP, *THE PELICAN*.

which found the sea-route to Archangel (Chancellor's expedition, 1554). The dangers of adventuring in Russia made the profits of this Company extremely uncertain, but much exploration took place, for from Russia Englishmen hoped to reach Cathay, that is, eastern Asia.

A richer prospect of mercantile success seemed to open before the *Levant Company*, a venture which seems to have been first financed out of the profits of Drake's great raid in the West Indies in 1579-1580. English merchants wanted to tap the Eastern trade directly, and no longer through Spanish or Italian intermediaries.

But they found that the Venetians and the Dutch were competitors as jealous as any Hanse ports, and that they must go to the Far East themselves. Thus from the Levant Company sprang the *East India Company*, to which Elizabeth gave a charter on the last day of the year 1600.

Commerce in distant regions could only be carried on by means of such companies, formed by a small number of men who trusted each other, and put their resources together in large subscriptions. The world was not sufficiently organised, nor the English government sufficiently powerful, for the sovereign to be able to protect the subject outside English waters. Ships going to Russia, Greece or, later, India went armed with great guns, prepared to defend themselves against Portuguese, Spanish or even Dutch hostility, and to overawe the weaker native potentates, such as the chiefs of Sumatra, or make terms with mighty ones, such as the Great Moghul.

Untiring energy was expended on these companies by the Merchants of London and by their partners in Hull and Newcastle, the eastern seaports, Exeter and Bristol, and equal energy was exhibited by the adventurous privateers who continued far into the next century to prey on Spanish ships and settlements in the West. But in spite of their courage, the period after the Armada was a time of commercial depression, due largely to the success of Spain in closing markets to English merchants in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, the Levant, Persia, India, and S. America. This was scarcely the fault of the government, unless it was a mistake in policy to help Henri IV and the Netherlands against Spain on land instead of at sea. A really considerable taxation was, for the first time in Tudor history, voted by parliament for this purpose, nearly two millions being raised between 1588 and 1603.¹

Much worse than taxation was the plague, which visited England severely in 1592 and again in 1602-1603. The seasons were bad² and dearth was prevalent from 1594 to 1597 and again in 1600.

This long period of bad harvests, bad trade and sickness produced considerable distress from lack of work, and the queen's lessened popularity reflected the growing dissatisfaction of the nation.

What the people wanted they did not exactly know. There were complaints on all sides that wages were low, work scarce, profits absorbed by a few persons, etc. For example, the strict laws made throughout this century to compel landowners to maintain agriculture and homesteads, and to compel the peasantry to grow a certain proportion of corn, resulted, by the end of Elizabeth's reign, in the production of plenty of corn. But as the cost of work, manure, etc., was high, and the seasons bad, the price of the corn did not fall very low: a large party wished, therefore, to abolish the laws and allow everyone to grow corn, or breed sheep, as they

¹ But men shirked paying again. The 10th and 15th sank to £65,000 against £104,000 in 1562.

² Cf. *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

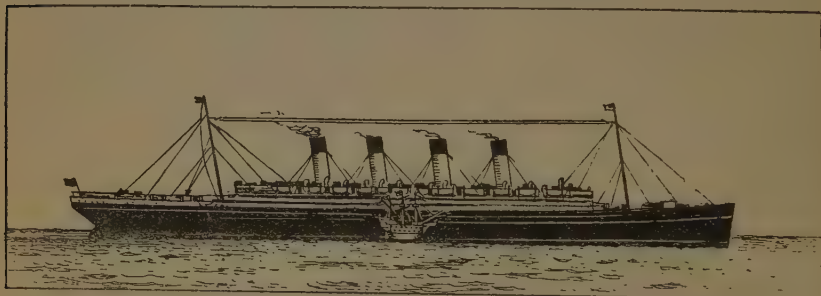
chose : an equally strong party refused to regard price and profits as the principal consideration, but wanted to maintain the laws in order to keep up the strength of the nation. The two parties were championed by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Robert Cecil respectively. There was ample corn abroad, said Raleigh in parliament, and we could import it from France at a lower price than any English grower could sell it, therefore it would be wise to set tillage "at liberty and leave every man free, which is the desire of a true Englishman." The son of Burleigh replied that, not the cheapness of corn and growth of other commercial crops was alone to be considered. A healthy population could best be reared when as many families as possible tilled their own land: "I think that whosoever doth not maintain the plough destroys this kingdom;" the best of the soldiers, he said, were ploughmen; if there were occasionally a glut of corn, it could be exported; while, if the laws should not protect tillage, "we give scope to the depopulator, and then, if the poor being thrust out of their homes go to dwell with others, straight we catch them with the Statute of Inmates; if they wander abroad they are within danger of the Statute of the Poor, to be whipped;" and so, on Raleigh's plan, the rich would be "free," but not the poor. So the Statutes of Agriculture were continued.

The sole serious disturbance of the last years of Elizabeth sprang from the overweening arrogance of the earl of Essex—for the wild plot of a few Puritans (1592) to murder the queen in hopes of setting up Presbyterianism had no supporters. Essex' campaign in Ireland having failed, by his own incompetence, he committed the still worse fault of deserting his army and government and returning without leave to London, in order, as he fancied, to recover the queen's favour by his personal charm (1599). His conduct, however, produced the opposite effect. Inquiry into his Irish proceedings increased Elizabeth's indignation, and for the next year he was in prison or under restraint. No sooner was the earl freed than he supposed that all was to be forgotten and himself restored to the position of prime favourite, and on discovering his miscalculation he took to intriguing against the Queen, or her ministers, with James VI, with puritan preachers, with Roman-catholic plotters, and even with players in the theatres, in the childish belief that the Londoners were so much attached to him that with a little incitement they might rise in rebellion to coerce the queen and place him at the head of the government. He aimed at becoming sole minister now that Burleigh was gone, and was furious at the influence exerted by Raleigh and Robert Cecil. But when he rode forth, the small crowd which collected was little moved by Essex' assertion that Raleigh meant to murder him, or by an attempt of one of his men to shoot Robert Cecil's brother, Lord Burleigh, in the street. Essex and his retainers were left to parade through the City unmolested, but uncheered, and the general silence terrified them. At last they were met by some armed men sent by the bishop of London, and they fled. Nothing

more remained but for Essex to surrender and go to the Tower, and for the Queen to proclaim her thanks to her loyal city of London.

The trial and condemnation of the earl for treason followed as a matter of course,¹ but it was only after long hesitation that the queen signed the death-warrant (1601).

There is no doubt that the misconduct of the man who had received from her the indulgences of a petted grandchild deeply wounded Elizabeth's affection and pride. She had reached the advanced age, as it then was, of sixty-nine. Her strong will still nerved her to show herself active before ambassadors and courtiers, but her self-control weakened somewhat during her last months; she insisted on keeping a sword on a table by her, and she would now and then take it in her hand and stab at the arras. Her latest audience was given to the faithful Admiral Howard and Robert Cecil; and the latest voice she heard was that of her trusted archbishop, Whitgift, praying beside her death-bed hour after hour. Early on March 24, 1603, she passed away in sleep.



FROBISHER'S SHIP *GABRIEL* SLUNG ON THE DAVITS OF THE *TITANIC*.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1558. Elizabethan Prayer-book. | 1558-60. <i>Danger from France.</i>
Mary, "Queen of France,
England and Scotland." |
| 1559. Act of Supremacy. | |
| 1560. Elizabeth helps the Scots
rebels. | |
| 1561. Treaty of Edinburgh. | 1561. Mary goes to Scotland.
French civil wars begin. |
| 1562. Hawkins begins slave trade. | 1562-7. Privateers in the Channel. |
| " Elizabeth helps the Hugue-
nots. | |
| 1563. Statute of Artificers (J.P.'s
fix wages). | |
| " Articles of Religion. | 1564. Charles IX treats with Eliza-
beth (Troyes). |
| | 1565. Mary marries Darnley. |

¹ The story of the ring and the countess of Nottingham is a fiction.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN (*continued*).

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|---|---|
| 1568. Hawkins at St. J. de Ulloa. | 1567. Darnley murdered. |
| „ Elizabeth stops Genoese treasure-ships. | 1568. Mary flies to Carlisle. |
| 1569. Norfolk's Plot. | „ Philip II expels English Ambassador. |
| „ Rising of the North. | 1569. Alva confiscates English merchandise. |
| 1570. Elizabeth's manifesto. | 1570. Anjou marriage-plan. |
| 1571. Ridolfi Plot. | „ Pius V's Bull. |
| 1572. Duke of Norfolk executed. | 1571. Anglo-French Treaty. |
| „ First compulsory Poor-rate. | 1572. Alençon marriage-plan. |
| 1572-3. Drake at Nombre. | „ Massacre of St. Bartholomew. |
| 1573. Elizabeth helps Rochelle. | „ Netherland rebels seize Brill. |
| | <i>From</i> 1572. Revolt of the Netherlands from Spain. |
| | 1574-80. French wars of religion. |
| 1575-85. <i>Explorations</i> of Frobisher
Gilbert, Davys, Grenville
and others. | |
| 1575-87. <i>Years of Prosperity.</i> | |
| 1576. First compulsory work-houses. | 1576. Elizabeth refuses Netherlands sovereignty. |
| 1577-8. Drake's voyage round the world. | |
| 1579. Alençon marriage treaty. | |
| 1579-80. Drake in West Indies. | |
| 1580. Jesuit Mission and plots. | 1580. Spanish Invasion plans. |
| 1581. Renewed marriage plan. | 1581. Alençon-Anjou King of five Provinces. |
| 1583. Rejection of marriage plan. | |
| 1584. Throckmorton's Plot. | 1584. Murder of William of Orange. |
| „ The Protestant Association. | |
| 1585. Parry's Plot. | 1585. Leicester sent to Netherlands. |
| 1586. Babington's Plot. | 1586. Drake in West Indies. |
| 1587. Execution of Mary. | „ Trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. |
| 1588. July-Aug. Naval battles in the Channel, Calais Roads, off Gravelines. | 1587. Drake at Cadiz. |
| „ Death of Leicester. | 1588. The Armada sails. |
| 1589. Cumberland attacks Azores. | „ Murder of the Guises by Henri III. |
| 1590. Death of Walsingham. | 1589. Murder of Henri III. |
| 1591. Loss of the <i>Revenge</i> . | 1590. Henri IV helped by Elizabeth. |
| 1593. Anglo-French alliance against Spain. | |
| 1595-6. Last voyage of Drake and Hawkins. | 1593. Henri IV accepts Romanism. |
| 1596. Essex and Raleigh raid Cadiz. | 1593-4. Spaniards garrison Brittany. |
| 1597. Parliament attacks monopolies. | |
| 1598. Partial ruin of Russia Co. | 1597. The Merchant Adventurers excluded from Germany. |
| „ Death of Burleigh. | 1598. Death of Philip II. |
| 1600. East India Company founded. | |
| 1601. Partial ruin of Levant Co. | 1600-1601. Dunkirk privateers active. |
| „ Parliament attacks monopolies. | |
| „ Revolt of Essex. | |
| „ Great Poor Law. | |

XXI

MERRY ENGLAND (1485-1603)

By common consent we look upon Tudor times as pre-eminently the times of cheerfulness, the "good old times" of national memory or imagination. The justice of our view depends on what sort of people we are thinking of. For the great mass of the people—the peasantry who tilled the soil and spun and wove at home, those who handled the work of forests, mines or fisheries, or became journeymen in tanneries, smithies, and all manner of small local industries—it is probable that the epoch 1460-1529 was as prosperous a time as our history can show. On many such families the changes of the rest of the sixteenth century inflicted hardships, and when the lively activities of the Elizabethan age increased both commercial and agricultural wealth, this was unevenly divided between those who had behind them some capital and a growing class who lived chiefly upon wages, and whose means of merriment were provided for them by the wealthy.

Of those wealthy men there was more than one type, for perhaps in no age is the fluidity of English classes more noticeable than in Tudor times. There were the nobles, old or new, the country gentlemen, great and small, the men of business and the lawyers, closely connected with each other, and a crowd of energetic, ambitious men, younger sons of nobles, squires or merchants, who carved a fortune out of buccaneering, marriage, court favour, hard work in minor official posts, or speculation in Irish lands, colonial grants and foreign commerce.

Very few of the ancient noble houses survived the fifteenth century. Under Elizabeth there were still representatives of Vere, Percy, Clifford and Talbot (the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland and Shrewsbury), but the more recently ennobled Stanleys and Howards were more important. The splendid earl of Derby, who actively enforced, in Lancashire and Cheshire, the successive religious laws of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, and reaped a harvest of Church plunder, kept a household much like that of the kingmaker, Warwick. For forty-two years he maintained on daily rations and regular liveries, 220 persons, besides sixty aged pensioners, and thrice a week kept open house for all comers, when he held audience and did business. By his sole power he kept the two counties quiet through the

Northern risings and the numerous plots. He was a lover of stage-plays and a patron of puritan preachers, an excellent servant of the Crown and the government and a skilful bone-setter.

Most of the eminent Elizabethans came of families, whether old country gentry, such as Blount, Harcourt or Manners, or newly risen squires, yeomen, lawyers and merchants, which had attained wealth and importance quite recently. The families of Dudley, Wriothesley, Russell, Cavendish, and Rich had made their fortunes under Henry VIII and Edward VI. The two Dudley brothers, Elizabeth's earls of Warwick and Leicester, were as profuse as Derby, though much less useful. The earl of Rutland (Manners) was, like Derby, an active agent of the government on the Council of the North. The Russells (earl of Bedford) were expected to supervise Somerset and Devon and usually did so. Naturally they, and other great lords with similar duties and opportunities, contrived to amass a good deal of property or paid themselves by deducting fees from the government funds which they handled. By the end of the century they exercised in their special districts as powerful an influence as any feudal barons of old, and Elizabeth's careful conciliation of them was due to her dread of their power.

The well-to-do middle class had greatly increased under the Tudors, and the gentry were, as a rule, open-handed to those among whom they dwelt at all the recognised seasons of rejoicing, which were numerous. There were, especially, the old festivals of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, May-day, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Martinmas, and the day of Elizabeth's accession (Nov. 17), *The Queen's Day*.

At some or all of these times there was, in country towns and villages, high holiday and pleasuring, though the State, by recognising only Christmas as a time of universal games and mirth, encouraged a tendency to cut down holidays. It had long been a legal offence to play at football or hockey except on recognised holidays, and most towns forbade those games in the streets, though the prohibition was probably seldom enforced. Nor were cards, dice, backgammon and the like permitted indoors, though this offence, too, was committed very much oftener than it was punished. The view of the authorities was that playing games produced laziness, and that in spare time archery ought to be practised—a theory which, of course, became extinct as firearms came into greater use: that is, before the end of Elizabeth's reign. May-games were celebrated in town and country alike. With the may-pole began the season of dancing, a pastime dear to gentle and simple, from Henry or Elizabeth downwards. The favourite dances were the old English country dances, in which a party performed a number of figures together, when possible in fancy dress, or "disguising." To dress up was in itself a pleasure to all. Flowers played a part in many local ceremonies, such as well-dressing, rush-bearing, going a-souling, etc. In the morris

dancing, as in the mumming (which was proper from St. George's Day till Whitsuntide), old dresses and ceremonies were preserved from very ancient times, but the pageant of St. George had almost disappeared by Elizabeth's time. In Leicester, for example, the "Riding of St. George" was made compulsory by the corporation in 1523, as it was being neglected. Twenty years later the wardens of St. George's gild preferred to pay the heavy fine, and soon after the gild Hall was let to a private tenant: in 1594 it is only known as a house or barn (rent 6s. 8d.). The more strict, or *puritan*, reformers disliked disguisings and dancing as involving references to something 'superstitious,' and would not patronise amusements.

Though Elizabeth loved pageantry and plays, her dignified court was uncomfortably stiff and dull. At the close of her reign a courtier doubted whether he might venture to advocate other games than chess. He thought cards or backgammon would really be preferable to standing about doing nothing, "for men cannot always be discoursing nor women pricking." In the Christmas fortnight, however, all rules were set aside and all games permitted everywhere, Twelfth Night being the final great festivity, when cards might be played even at court.

Music held a large place in recreation. The English were naturally fond of singing, piping and bellringing. Many towns kept a permanent band of musicians, who played to the mayor and corporation on festivals, and could be engaged for weddings and other such occasions by the townsfolk, but probably not all corporations forbade the citizens to employ any other musicians, as at Leicester. Bagpipes were the principal instruments of the York town pipers, and viols those of the Leicester 'waits.' The madrigals, part-songs and catches so popular among all classes, were sometimes quite intricate (hence many jests in Shakespeare), and the patronage of the court and nobility and of the cathedrals encouraged a number of excellent composers, including the famous Tallis. The lovely songs of the Tudor and Stewart poets were all meant to be sung, and had their own tunes.

Food still demanded grave consideration from the householder. England grew enough food, as a rule, for her own needs, and could sometimes export. But the weather was no more reliable then than now, and many seasons of scarcity occurred in the 'seventies and the 'nineties. Possibly the shortage of corn in 1573 was due to the extraordinary frost of the previous winter, which lasted for many weeks, when the Thames was frozen hard at London Bridge.

Earls and ministers of State thought it not beneath their dignity to reckon carefully the quarters of oats, rye or wheat they could allow to their households, and grain was frequently imported from the Baltic when supplies ran short. Meat, on the other hand, seems to have been always plentiful. Beef, mutton and veal were the food of the middle class, venison, hares, and partridges were for the gentleman, and were often sent as presents. A pair of

fat oxen was a handsome gift from a polite corporation to the great lady of the neighbourhood; more often comfits, cakes, sugar, figs and almonds, spices and wine were proffered—as in the previous century—to great persons who had some connection with a town, or who might be asked to use court influence on its behalf. Sometimes my lord would make a gift of a buck and the town provide wine and sweetmeats, and feast him: “in eating of venison,” as it is cautiously entered, quite large sums could be expended. It is probable that a great increase of cattle followed on inclosures. Good meadowland was always more valuable than arable. The sheep dairies of the 14th century had given way to cows by the time of Henry VII, and dairy farming was in the ascendant under Elizabeth. There is a tale of her wish that she could have been a happy dairymaid, singing in the fields. Innumerable songs bear witness to the fashion.

Englishmen were much attached to their national ways of living. “I would I were at home with you,” writes Sir Thomas Smith, envoy at Paris (1572), “to eat a good piece of court beef and mustard, a cow’s heel and a piece of ling and sodden oysters, instead of all kinds of pheasants and partridges, red and white-legged, and young peacocks and all other such fine meats covered or sethened with lard.” “The artificer and husbandman,” wrote Harrison, lived principally upon “beef and such meat as the butcher selleth,” and they were lavish in feasting at weddings or christenings, “where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed and spent, each one bringing such a dish, or so many with him, as his wife and he do consult upon, but always with this consideration, that the lesser friend shall have the better provision . . . the good man of the house is not charged with anything saving bread, drink, sauce, house-room and fire.” Medieval cookery had seldom dealt with the huge joints which were in fashion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The great fireplaces and gigantic spits sometimes shown to us in old places belong to that age.

If the descriptions of plentiful fare given by several Elizabethan writers are typical, it would seem that things had improved since Latimer, in 1550, told Edward’s nobles that their enclosures were starving the peasants: “A ploughland must have sheep to help to fat the ground,” he said, “or they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food to make their veneries or bacon of: their bacon is their venison, for they shall now have *hangum tuum* if they get any other venison, so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack . . . and kine for their milk and cheese, which they must live upon and pay their rents . . . and pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in and inclosed from them.” Though the Council encouraged the import of grain in years of scarcity, its price rose, and by the end of the century the daily wages of unskilled labouring men had to be raised to 8d. in many counties, and those who beat them

down were considered to be mean. In 1601 Raleigh, who farmed the Cornish tin-mines for the Crown, declared that he had raised the miners' weekly wages from 2s. to 4s. (8*d.* a day).

Dress reflected the increase of prosperity. More garments and of better quality were worn and novel fashions were adopted by each generation in youth and abused in old age.

Henry VIII was addicted to cloth of gold and his courtiers loved velvet and fine cloth; Elizabeth's added satin, silk and brocade. Henry copied from that "glass of fashion," François I, but the wealthy took their fashions impartially from Flanders, France, Italy or Spain.¹ Grave men, however, merchants, clergy and the learned professions, kept for a few more decades to long warm robes, lined with fur or wool; the young and active preferred tight-fitting hose (breeches and stockings in one) made of fine cloth, with a doublet of rich material, and a cloak, and this gradually became the universal wear. A cloak was a necessity in those open-air days, when there were as yet no umbrellas, but it could be gaily lined, and the celebrated tale of Sir Walter Raleigh implies a handsome sacrifice, and hints at the dirty, unmended condition usual even on a road which royalty was expected to tread. A personal trait in Elizabeth, which her courtiers considered peculiar, although quite becoming, was her dislike of bad smells. They found it hard to remember that she objected to the odour of their great riding-boots splashed with the mud of miles, and had to make special arrangements to change them before going to speak with her. She affected to object to the cultivation of woad and saffron because of the scent. When she came on progress towns cleaned their streets, and her courtiers took to growing sweet herbs. It was like her objection to hearing news of matrimony; a little fad which a great queen had every right to indulge but nobody took very seriously: they never noticed bad smells. Like her father, Elizabeth loved to see splendour, and is said herself to have acquired an extravagant number of fine dresses, while she was absurdly unwilling to see her ladies too grandly dressed. It should be remembered that a jewelled dress was a kind of purse or money-box. A great man might detach a jewel or a gilded knot as a payment, and jewels were constantly used as pledges of credit.

Ladies' dress, which early in the century was of flowing style and very low in the neck, became more grave under Mary, and in Elizabeth's time very stiff round skirts were worn and stiff high bodices with ruffs. The ruff was a universal European fashion; young exquisites like Sir Philip Sidney wore them like enormous frills. Ladies of fashion wore false hair, piled high, and little other head-dress. Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots wore reddish-coloured wigs, though their own hair was dark. Elizabeth is said to have been the first to have had woven silk stockings; they were procured from Spain by her silk-woman. They at once

¹ Cf. *Merchant of Venice* I. 2, l. 65.

became fashionable, and English worsted-workers speedily copied the invention in useful worsted thread (from 1564).

On their heads men wore small stiff caps, or larger soft ones, called bonnets; hoods were now abandoned to ladies, who wore them when travelling. In the time of Elizabeth felt hats came into fashion, at first for children, then, with wide brims and tall crowns, for men. Only then began the custom of removing them in the company of ladies and superiors, and in church, the square cap of university men being still retained by the officiating clergy.

The rich materials imported from abroad were used also to improve furniture. Beds were still decorated carefully and bequeathed as legacies, but hangings and stuffed seats now came into use also. Turkey carpets, velvet or Spanish-leather chairs, thick cushions and stuffed seats for benches came from Holland, though Elizabeth to the last retained the old-fashioned hard benches and stools at court, or cushions laid on the floor, to the discomfort of her more elderly courtiers. She made no objection, however, to the introduction of coaches, and kept a Dutch coachman to drive the strange machine, but as a rule she rode or was carried in a litter, for the early coaches were clumsy vehicles and apt to bruise the traveller if driven beyond a foot's pace.

Another improvement was the increasing use of chimneys; the best hearthstones and chimney-pieces were imported from Holland, and the fireplace superseded the ancient dais as the place of dignity in a room; it was often ornamented with carving and provided with seats in the chimney nooks.

Out of doors, gardening became an art. The busiest statesman could find time to plan new gardens; thus Sir Thomas Smith lined his alleys (walks between hedges) with pear and apple trees, and set gooseberries and roses between them, while Burleigh sent to Holland and France for lemons and sweet-smelling myrtle, lavender, rosemary and thyme. Roses, especially the damask rose, were all the fashion, marigolds and many other foreign favourites came from France. Lady Smith distilled her own herb liquors, and her husband promised as soon as he returned from Paris to make her "one bush-coal fire" to serve for both her stills, of a kind that should only require attention once in twelve hours—evidently a kind of slow-combustion stove.

The English at this period were not generally given to deep drinking. Ale was, of course, the universal drink at all meals, and it was not usual to brew it very strong. After hops came into use, ale could be kept longer and brewed stronger.¹ Brewing was,

¹ "Hops, reformation, bays and beer
Came into England all in one year,"

ran an old rhyme, or—

"Hops, carps, bays, and the reformation
Came into England in one generation."

(Bays, a kind of cloth.)

properly, one trade and ale-selling another. In most towns brewers might not sell by retail, nor a less quantity than a gallon (the equivalent of an off-licence), while "tipplers" and alehouse-keepers might only sell what customers wanted to drink at once (the on-licence). This was for purposes of supervision; it was a most important and difficult task to see that ale was wholesome, for bad ale was known to be dangerous to health. The improvement in the keeping quality of ale seems to have led to an increase in the small, or tipping, houses, and in 1571 the Council of the North was charged to suppress the superfluous houses, corporations of towns doing the same. Even after this suppression Leicester, with some 4000 inhabitants, had still seventy-three alehouses. The provision of ale and the making of malt were still the heaviest anxiety of the householder. There was never too much malt, and even royalty was not exempt from accidents. When Elizabeth was on her way to visit the earl of Leicester and the famous "princely pleasures of Kenilworth" (in 1575), she and her splendid retinue halted at the royal manor of Grafton, and there shot bucks in the park, and "not one drop of good drink" was there for her that hot June. Leicester wrote a graphic account of his concern and the general consternation. Messengers were sent at the gallop with empty bottles to London and to Kenilworth, while the thirsty queen and her courtiers grumbled. "It put her very far out of temper and all the company beside too, for none of us all was able to drink beer or ale here"; it was so over-strong "you had been as good to have drunk Malmsey." Leicester feared the queen would be ill, but at last, "thank God," some ale she could like was discovered in the neighbourhood and then all was well. Wine seems to have been drunk, even by gentlemen, upon occasions of ceremony or hospitality rather than habitually, although in London wine-taverns often took the place of ale-taverns, by no means to the encouragement of sobriety. But London was always exceptional.

PLAYS

If country people amused themselves most often with dancing, townfolk flocked increasingly to see plays. The extinction of the guilds had killed the old semi-religious plays which they had regularly performed, but even before that time other and more secular dramas had been played and the new style was driving out the old. The climate was not always suitable for out-of-door representations, but great men could easily have the players in to perform in the hall. The new mansions which were being erected everywhere often contained a minstrels' gallery, which came in well for a part of the stage. For the general public, plays were acted in the court-yards of inns, where a small stage could be set up, under or before a part of the balcony, while the spectators could shelter in the rest. The first theatre, the famous *Globe*, was built

in 1576, round in form, like the neighbouring bear-garden, and fitted with three galleries, the stage jutting forward in the midst. Fashionable spectators might sit on the stage.

Plays were performed by small companies, who, from the time of Henry VIII, at all events, had usually some nobleman for a patron, and played for him when he required them to do so. At

The Quenes } Solicitor.
Attorney.
Sergeant.



(From Procession at the Funeral of Queen Elizabeth).

The Solicitor was Sir E. Coke, the Attorney Sir Thos. Fleming.

other times they supported themselves by touring from town to town, playing by permission of the authorities, who contributed to their pay. The Queen's players, the earl of Derby's, the earl of Worcester's, and those of some forty other patrons, besides some town companies (from Coventry and Hull), appear among the recipients of fees from the Corporation of Leicester, which often paid five or six companies in a year, in turn with special preachers, at whose sermons a representative from every house was ordered

to be present. The towns could also reckon on visits from bear-wards and morris-dancers, though these were more often engaged privately. In the 'nineties a puritan mayor of Leicester cut the town maypole asunder, but the largest piece was set up again, and another alderman let it be known that when he became mayor there should be as much morris-dancing as ever. The baiting of a bear or a bull was an extremely popular amusement, as the "bull-ring" of several old towns witnesses. Bear-wards travelled about with their bears, and nervous persons declared that they sometimes let their beast devour a child, for economy. A "good" bear (a good fighter with the dogs) obtained a reputation.¹

Of the Tudor drama, as of the mediæval, we may feel sure that only a few specimens have survived to be famous, compared with the number which have vanished. Literature which lives is the best literature, written by the few for the discerning; it was an age of much printing and reading, and the taste of the educated was comprehensive. It is often forgotten that three or four generations of Tudor actors and play-writers had flourished and died before Shakespeare was born. The career of Shakespeare himself bears strong testimony to the vigour of intellectual life all over England in this century, when London was by no means the only home of intellect or enterprise. Stratford-on-Avon was then, as throughout the later Middle Ages, a lively centre of traffic, standing at a junction of roads on a river, with an excellent school, plenty of well-to-do townfolk and many thriving squires in the neighbourhood. The Arden woodlands beyond were being exploited for the ironworkers of Birmingham and other forges; close by were the fashionable, aristocratic centres of Warwick and Kenilworth, only a little further the great city of Coventry, while the county was intersected by a number of main roads carrying a great volume of traffic.² It is significant that the outburst of the most glorious literature of England comes soon after the Armada was beaten, when the consciousness of national greatness and the love of country were stronger than ever before.

¹ Cf. *Merry Wives*, I. 1.

² *Vide* the routes mentioned in *Henry VI* (III), V. i. and *Henry IV* (I), IV. ii.

XXII

RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS

(A) HENRY VII

IN 1485 the relations existing between England and Ireland were much what had prevailed in the previous century. Ireland was divided between the native tribes, usually termed "the king's Irish enemies," and the inhabitants of the Pale, who frequently had to be termed "the king's Irish rebels." The government was hardly more than nominal.

(1) The bulk of the island was in the occupation of the "meer" (*i. e.* pure) Irish, still in much the same state of barbarism as Giraldus Cambrensis had described at the end of the twelfth century. They lived by fishing, hunting and the pasturage of cattle. Their social system was tribal, each chief exercising arbitrary authority within the limits of ancient custom. The chief had an equivalent of revenue in such customs as *coshery*, whereby he could quarter his military followers upon the other tribesmen, and his close connection with them was secured by the custom of *fostering*, whereby his children were brought up by peasants in peasant habits and ignorance. Nominally Christian, the religion of the natives principally consisted of relic-worship and gross superstitions, scarcely distinguishable from paganism. The prime interest of all the tribes lay in their feuds with each other or with "The Pale," which provided unlimited fighting and robbery, the native idea of liberty being unrestricted violence.

(2) The Pale did not exhibit much more civilisation. The attempt at a volunteer conquest, authorised by Henry II, had planted military colonies of adventurers on the south-east coast and in the old Viking seaports (Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Kinsale, Cork, Baltimore, Limerick). From time to time fresh groups of settlers joined the descendants of the earlier invasions. Churches and monasteries were founded, and there was a seat of government in Dublin; but the baronial settlers lived in their castles; the English and other colonists expected to be masters, not agricultural labourers, and got the necessary labour by retaining natives about their castles and villages. The small numbers of the colonists caused them to grow like the mass of Irish about them and acquire their semi-barbarous customs and violent habits. The principal tie between Ireland and England was really commercial, raw

materials (flax, fur and fish) being exchanged for manufactured commodities. Dublin dealt chiefly with Chester and South Lancashire, Wexford and Waterford with Bristol, Cardiff or Gloucester, Youghal and Cork with Bristol and Bridgwater.

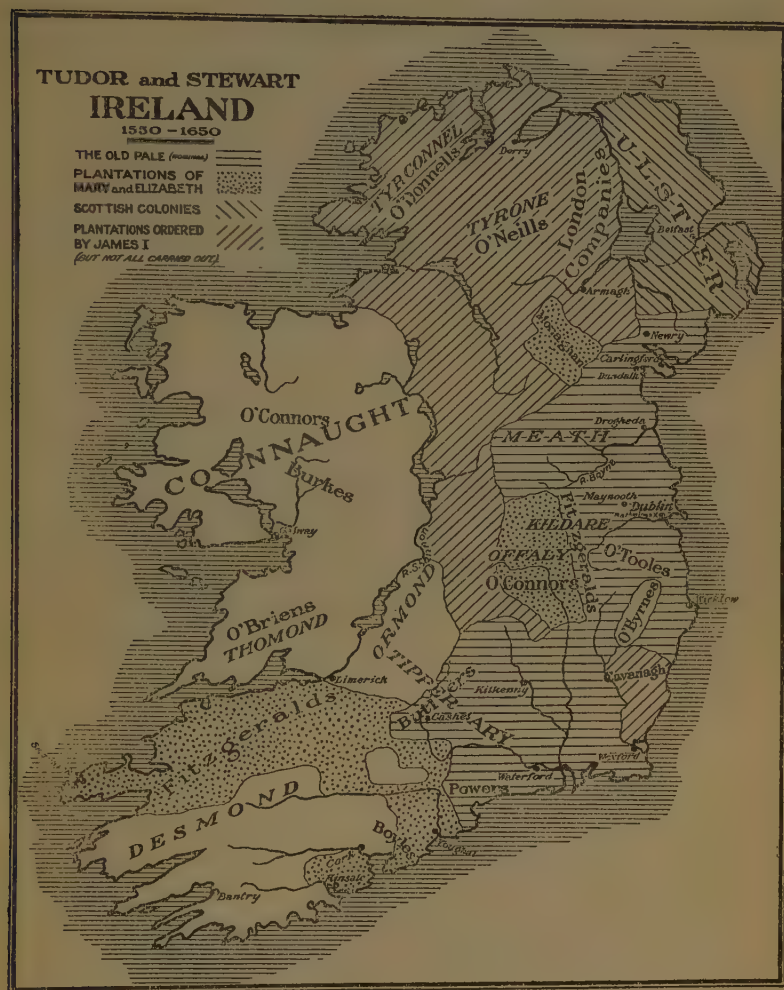
It was not the least of the ill deeds of Richard, duke of York, that he taught the Anglo-Irish to take sides in the political feuds of England. Ireland "was Yorkist" in the sense of defying the royal government whenever there was a Yorkist claimant. In 1459 an Irish Parliament (*i. e.* of the Pale) had declared itself independent of the English legislature, and the support given by the nobility and Dublin to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck compelled Henry VII to pay attention to this unremunerative portion of his royal inheritance.

(3) The system of government was nominally the same as in England, with a Lieutenant to represent the sovereign, a Council, Chancellor, Treasurer, Chief Justice and Judges who should go on Assize. The Pale was provided with shire-courts (or county courts) and sheriffs, and the English law was administered. The Irish chiefs were nominally responsible to the Lieutenant for their clansmen. When the Lieutenant was absent from Ireland he named a Deputy, when the Deputy was absent the Council chose one or more Lords Justices. The great dignity of Lieutenant was seldom filled, and a Deputy, with less importance and a lower salary, held office under the king.

Unhappily Ireland brought no revenue to the Crown; and as the English parliaments, throughout the sixteenth century, were no more willing to vote money for Irish expenses than was the English population to provide settlers, the policy of the Irish government had to be determined by its cost. Except as a piece of political philanthropy—an idea which had not yet been evolved—it was impossible for a Tudor sovereign to regard Ireland as anything but a dangerous drain of money which was urgently required elsewhere.

Henry VII, therefore, left Ireland alone as much as he could. His uncle, Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, held the dignity of Lieutenant at home, but the Deputy for many years was the earl of Kildare, head of the Fitzgeralds. The two greatest families—and therefore enemies—in the Pale were the Fitzgeralds and the Butlers. The former rejoiced in two branches and two earls, of Kildare (near Dublin) and Desmond (in the south-west about Killarney). This family had intermarried with the native Irish and adopted many of their customs, even naming themselves, in the Irish manner, Geraldines, while the Butlers, whose chief was the earl of Ormond (the country about Tipperary), were more English, and were, therefore, preferred by the people of the principal seaports. The Fitzgeralds, however, especially the earl of Kildare, had more power and often made themselves masters of Dublin. That city was always turbulent and changeable, like the nobles of

the Pale themselves, and when both Kildare and Dublin supported Simnel, it was not a wholly valueless reward for the loyal and vigorous city of Waterford, to be authorised by the king to



“ make war upon our rebel the earl of Kildare ” and on the citizens of Dublin.

When at last peace reigned in England, Henry sent one of his trusty men, Edgecumbe, to Ireland, and summoned the principal lords to court. "My masters of Ireland," said the king to them, "ye

will crown apes at last!" and to emphasise the position Lambert Simnel was brought from the royal kitchen to bear round the wine-cup.

The nobles were pardoned and sent home, only to compromise themselves anew in Perkin Warbeck's intrigues. Henry VII was now able to act more decisively. Kildare was brought over again and kept in restraint in London, while a vigorous soldier and administrator, Sir Edward Poynings, was sent, in 1494, to reduce the Pale to submission. He held a parliament at Drogheda in which were registered the two famous 'Poynings' Acts': viz. (1) that no parliament should meet in Ireland but by command of the Crown, and with permission secured beforehand from the (English) Council for every Act its members intended to promote; (2) that the laws at that time existing in England should apply also to Ireland.

This made an end of any attempts at an opposition government in Ireland, and also of the recognition given by the judges in the Pale to Irish custom, instead of English law, whenever it might serve a patron's advantage.

In the meantime, lords and bishops of the Pale were bringing accusations against each other in London, and the king himself heard the recriminations of the earl of Kildare and the bishop of Meath. The earl (says the Irish narrator) was "but rudely brought up according to the usage of his country: in his talk he *thou'd* the king and the rest of his Council," but the king perceived that he was 'a simple man' and treated him kindly. The charge of treason was sufficiently supported, and the king bade the earl choose some one to help him make his answer, whatever counsellor he would, him he should have: "But I doubt I should not have that good fellow that I would choose?" Said the king, "By my troth thou shalt." "Give me your hand," said the earl. "Here is my hand," said the king. . . . "Shall I choose now?" said the earl. "If you so think good," said the king. "Well, I can see no better man than you, and by Saint Bride! I will choose none other." "Well," said the king, "by Saint Bride, it was well requisite for you to choose so, for I thought your tale could not well excuse your doings unless you had well chosen." "Do you think I am a fool?" said the earl. "No!" said he, "I am a man in deed, both in the field and in the town."

The king laughed and made good sport and said, "A wiser man might have chosen worse." "Well," said the bishop, "he is as you see, for all Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman." "No?" said the king; "then he is meet to rule all Ireland, seeing all Ireland cannot rule him"; and so made the earl Deputy of Ireland during his life and sent him to his country with great gifts. That is to say, not immediately, but when Poynings came home in 1496. For the rest of Kildare's life, no danger to England arose in Ireland, and if the Geraldines and

Butlers pursued their feuds at will, a certain control was exercised over the lawlessness of others, and some attempt made to carry out the laws which aimed at restraining the men of the Pale from becoming practically Irish. Kildare was slain, by an Irish enemy, in 1513, and his son, the ninth earl, continued for a time to wield a Deputy's authority, but with far less discretion than his father.

(B) IRELAND UNDER HENRY VIII

In the early court of Henry VIII the Howards ranked among the foremost. They were always loyal to the wearer of the crown, and Henry VII had restored the son of that "Jockey of Norfolk" who fell at Bosworth to the earldom of Surrey. Henry VIII gave him, after Flodden, the duchy of Norfolk, and his son, now earl of Surrey, was in 1520 sent to Ireland as Deputy, to investigate Kildare's conduct.

Surrey found an organised anarchy: under the young earl of Kildare's system there were neither sheriffs nor magistrates; his powers were used simply for the advantage of himself and his friends, and the inhabitants of the Pale had to pay tribute—*black rent*—to the native chiefs, while their own nobles took *coyne and livery*: a feudal payment to provide 'horse-meat and man's meat' for their retainers. "The king's army in England is the Commons; the king's army in Ireland is such as oppress the Commons," as a memorial summed it up.

Surrey read the situation, and frankly told his sovereign that nothing but a steady administration would avail. If the king would provide a small permanent force, which should secure order in the capital and then steadily extend the area under control, Ireland might in time be pacified and civilised, but all the cost and the supplies must be furnished from England, and, in addition, a large number of genuine settlers must be brought over to the Pale, to cultivate it.

Such a lengthy and expensive undertaking was wholly foreign to Henry's temper, and the only Tudor sovereign who had the means to conquer and civilise Ireland, threw up the task in less than two years. Surrey fell ill and begged for his recall. Henry then tried as Deputy, first, the head of the Butlers, Sir Piers, then, a practical English soldier, Skeffington: but Kildare visited the court and was flattered and encouraged and at last actually replaced in office, in 1532, when he requited all the loyal who had rallied to Surrey and Skeffington with his usual vindictiveness.

Parties at court had favoured Kildare as a manœuvrer in their own intrigues. Henry's devotion to Anne Boleyn procured every kind of favour for her relatives. Her father (whose mother was a Butler) coveted the Butler earldoms of Ormonde and Wiltshire, and to gratify him the king compelled Sir Piers Butler, the real heir, to

accept a new title (Ossory) in lieu of the family honours : Kildare would see that the Butlers exhibited no inconvenient resentment. Wolsey, too, had been against Kildare's ascendancy, and Wolsey's enemies therefore favoured him. He had the astuteness, moreover, to obtain as his second wife one of the Greys, connected with the king and his favourite Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and thus he provided himself with a backing at court, where nothing was at that time less considered than justice or the public interest.

Murderers were let loose on the Butlers; Irish robbers looted the suburbs of Dublin; the greatness of Kildare was openly ascribed to his father's policy in resisting the Crown. "What was he set by" (men asked) "till he crowned a king here . . . killed them of Dublin upon Gormantown Green, and would suffer no man to rule here for the king but himself? Then the king regarded him and made him Deputy. . . ." Henry VIII was acting upon his father's epigram in rather different circumstances.

(C) RELIGIOUS DISSENSION (1529-1558)

Henry's endeavour to avoid governing Ireland by leaving it to the Geraldines ended, naturally, in the discovery that they were really becoming independent. During Cromwell's ministry the rival and more loyal Butlers had the ear of the government, and when Kildare paid a third visit to England he was placed in the Tower on serious charges. A report that he had been executed reached Ireland, and his clan rose in defiance of the king (1534). The rebellion was crushed, and the leading Geraldines carried over to England for trial, where, after some time, they were all executed with the exception of the young heir.

The establishment of the royal supremacy over the Church in Ireland was, therefore, obediently enacted by the Irish parliament in 1536. This gave the Crown an opportunity, as was fondly believed, of purchasing the loyalty not only of the leading families of the Pale but of the Irish chiefs also. Monastery lands were bestowed on them; and some consented to accept English titles and to sit in the Dublin parliament. In return, they acknowledged Henry VIII as king of Ireland—the old title having been Lord—and as Head of the Church. Some sent their heirs to be educated in England. Chief among these conciliated Irish was the barbaric and powerful O'Neill, who consented to visit the English court and was given the title of earl of Tyrone, the central district of Ulster. Interpreting the favours of the government as a proof of its weakness, he and his sons continued their normal habits of internecine strife, murder and rapine with rather more zeal than before, and with some astuteness forbade the O'Neill natives to use the ploughs and seed-corn with which the government was supplying them. Tyrone preferred to reduce his subjects to famine, as he did, by burning

the ploughs and crops, rather than permit the insidious commencement of a civilising process. Irish ploughing only scratched the surface of the soil, by implements tied to the cows' tails, a barbaric practice forbidden by the English government.

In the Pale, the religious changes carried out by order of the king produced little perturbation until the destruction of relics and images stirred horror among the people, while the ruin of those convents which had been useful as schools proved inconvenient to the gentry. The indignation thus aroused was the first bond of sympathy between the nobles of the Pale and the more intelligent of the Irish septs (or clans).

Under Edward VI some attempt was made to provide a more religious influence than that of mere destruction, and a Latin form of the Edwardian Prayer-book was prepared, and accepted by several of the cities, while for those who could not understand either English or Latin, an Irish one was projected, but unhappily not executed.

On Mary's accession these innovations ceased, and the parliament of the Pale obediently restored the old conditions. At the same time the heir of the Geraldines was allowed to go back to Ireland. But from the time of the proclamation of the royal sovereignty the government regarded Irish chiefs as having stepped into the position of feudal lords—owners of the lands which their septs inhabited. According to Irish habit and law they were nothing of the kind, but the habitual English rule of confiscation as the appropriate penalty of rebellion blinded the government to the gross injustice of inflicting such a penalty upon a whole tribe, when the chief had rendered himself liable to legal punishment. If this legal punishment were to fall upon chiefs who had harried, tortured and murdered their neighbours, no tribe in Ireland was safe.

Under Mary this new seed of hatred, confiscation of land, was cast into the Irish cauldron. Confiscation was decreed in the belief that 'plantation' by English settlers was the best means of introducing civilisation and security; and the names of King's and Queen's counties, and their capitals Philipstown and Maryborough, witness to the new policy. Half of the land in this district was divided among English colonists, half left to the Irish, but the Irish chiefs were ordered to be responsible for their men, and were bound to obey English law, and a sharp division was to be observed between the two races, who were strictly forbidden to intermarry or foster each other's children. This was the old medieval policy, which the Plantagenet governments had often asserted but had never been able to enforce. Under the more drastic Tudor rule there might be more likelihood of its accomplishment.

(D) THE ELIZABETHAN ATTEMPT AT CONTROL (1558-1611)

On the accession of Elizabeth the earl of Sussex, then Deputy, found no difficulty in bringing the Irish parliament of 1560 to undo all that the last had done, and abolish the papal authority once more, nor did any turmoil follow. The floodgates of the anarchy which submerged Ireland for the next hundred years were opened by a purely native feud among the O'Neills. The heir acknowledged by the old earl of Tyrone (who died cursing any of his race who should learn English, sow wheat, or build a stone house), was duly accepted by the English government, which had already bestowed upon him the title of baron, but was not accepted by the Irish tribe, and one of the usual ferocious feuds arose. This the earl of Sussex at first endeavoured to stifle by instigating the assassination of the Irish claimant, Shane O'Neill; this failing, and the wily, though cowardly, Shane proving difficult to overcome, he succeeded in conciliating him, and sent him to England as a royal guest. The English courtiers laughed at his braggart ways: "Shane O'Neill, Lord of the North of Ireland, cousin of St. Patrick, friend of the Queen of England, enemy of all the world beside," they said. The Queen treated Shane much as Henry VII had done Kildare. If he would keep his subjects out of the Pale, and, in addition, drive out some Scottish immigrants who had settled on the empty north-east coast of Ulster, he should be countenanced. The Scots were successfully massacred, but O'Neill then proceeded to set himself up as an independent prince. He had made some overtures for French assistance, and the new Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney (1566), promptly marched against him with so much success that Shane fled headlong and met his death at the hands of some avenging Scots.

Sir Henry Sidney, who frequently held Irish office between 1566 and 1578, was the ablest and most ruthless of Elizabeth's Deputies, keeping down, by his severe justice, the anarchy of Irish tribes and the feuds of the Pale, though not always above the use of treachery and murder. But he could not be kept in Ireland for life, and in the intervals of his administrations mistakes were made by others which rekindled revolts, especially among the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, where a feud raged between the earl of Desmond, head of the Munster Geraldines, and the earl of Ormonde, head of the Butlers. The former defied the queen's government, while the latter supported it, and the rebels obtained help from the pope, whose legate contrived to combine the O'Neills and other native chiefs with the Geraldines in Munster. After Sidney's last term of office a Desmond outbreak in Munster attracted Spanish assistance. It would be well, said Burleigh, to relinquish Ireland altogether, were it not that its plenty of timber and good harbours would cause the king of Spain to take it and make of it his base for invading England.

By merciless severity, at last, Lord Grey de Wilton (Spenser's Arthegall) suppressed the rebellion and exterminated the Spanish

force in Smerwick. The savagery of both sides had turned Munster into a desert; not a habitation was to be found where once had been fifty farms. The government endeavoured to reward its loyal soldiers and at the same time to reclaim and garrison Munster, by 'planting' it with English colonists, and both Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser, who had been in Grey's army, were among the grantees who received estates, confiscated from the late rebels (about 1582). When they came to take possession they were appalled by the conditions prevailing in "this lost land," as Raleigh called it, "this Common-weal, or rather, Common-woe." Few knew how to make their grants profitable, as did Richard Boyle, an 'adventurer' who discovered that not only speculation and trickery, but the expenditure of capital and energetic management were necessary to turn barren acres into paying property. *Adventurer* meant speculator, and was no term of contempt.

There was little desire among English gentlemen to exile themselves to the dreariness of Ireland, and the Crown had to dispose of most of the land to "Undertakers," who *undertook* to sublet their large grants in small portions to real labourers and artisans. When it turned out that few such colonists were to be got, their places had, from necessity, to be filled by the native Irish once more. Grey's successor, Sir John Perrot, an able but violent-tempered man, was expected to keep order, punish rebels, reward loyalists, reduce the army, and increase the revenue without offending the Pale, or costing the Crown anything. It is not surprising that he incurred enmity, used rough language, and was accused of treason. He was declared to be guilty and died in the Tower.

Although the Geraldine rebellion had been assisted from Spain, no arrangements were made by Philip II to stir up an Irish rising at the time of the Armada, and shipwrecked Spanish crews found nothing in Ireland but graves: the Irish took the wrecks as a godsend. A Spaniard, who was kept captive among them, and escaped, afterwards reported them to be absolute savages. They were very strong and brave, he says, but they lived by robbing and slaying each other, and they murdered and plundered the shipwrecked. They had but one coarse meal a day and their drink was sour milk. The English garrisons could never subdue them, for they retired into the mountains and bogs faster than they could be followed.

As they far outnumbered the English colonists, and often reduced them to dire straits by the system which in our time is called boycotting, Raleigh warned the government that the *undertaking* plan was dangerous. Continual small risings kept the island in an uproar, and O'Neill, the new earl of Tyrone, came to be looked upon as a leader. This ambitious man had sufficient knowledge and ability (having been educated out of Ireland) to intrigue with

the pope and the king of Spain, and he was buying guns and casting bullets in the 'nineties, while the English government could not raise troops to send against him. "Better be hanged at home than die like dogs in Ireland," men said. The sheriff of Lancashire even tried rounding up all the able-bodied beggars of his county and herded them to Chester as the county levy. But the Crown officers refused them.

Tyrone was an excellent dissimulator, and when the rising of 1597 began, his concern in it was still unknown to the English Deputy. When the latter was worsted in a small affray and died of his wounds the whole of the Ulster natives, now well armed, rose in revolt, and in a pitched battle defeated and killed Bagenal, the chief general. All the waverers then joined Tyrone, the earl of Desmond leading the Southern rebels, and the whole of native Ireland flung itself in a ferocious attack on the English. Amongst many other horrors, Raleigh's little town of 160 houses, on which he had spent such pains, went up in flames, and so did the home of Spenser, who fled in the night, losing in the burning house his youngest infant.

There were anxious discussions in the English Council over the selection of the new Deputy. Essex, Elizabeth's prime favourite, criticised every proposal, and at last was bidden to undertake the task himself. His many stipulations were at last granted, and in 1599, supplied with a handsome revenue and a large and well-appointed army, he landed in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant.

Essex had had experience of warfare in company with excellent captains, but he made elementary mistakes. He wasted time among the local troubles of the south, besieging a castle and pursuing an insignificant Fitzgerald, while Tyrone, the brain and chief of the rising, was left unmolested in the north, and was cutting off English detachments. Being reprimanded by the queen, Essex then hurried to the north and consented to meet Tyrone on equal terms in negotiation. The astute Irishman was more than a match for the vain young earl, and by courtesy and flattery won the Lord-Lieutenant to make with him, the prime rebel, an armistice. The news fired Elizabeth's indignation and she sent Essex a vehement rebuke.

Like all Elizabeth's later ministers and courtiers, Essex' main attention was given to his own personal advancement and the intrigues of the court. He believed that flattery of the Queen would avail him more than loyal service, and hurried away from his indignant council and army, only to find in London that he had fatally misread his royal mistress.

His successor, Lord Mountjoy, was an able soldier, who had already defeated Tyrone when Spanish troops landed in the south and fortified themselves in Kinsale. Mountjoy expelled them, but he could not procure the supplies which Essex had had and wasted, and when, on returning to the chase of Tyrone, he found that earl

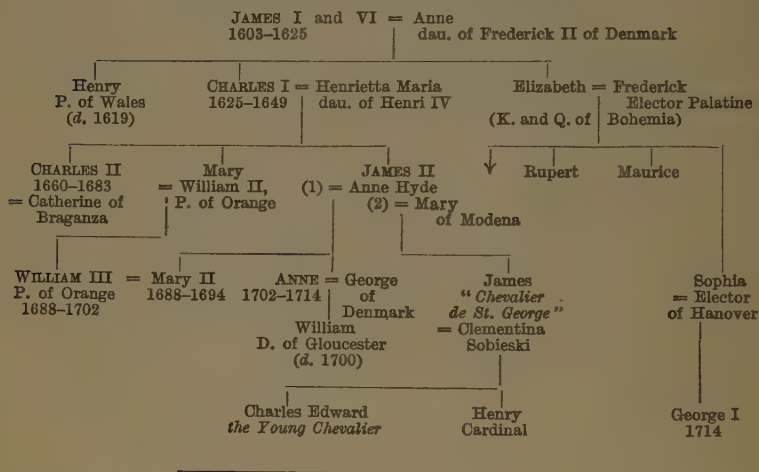
anxious to submit, he accepted his surrender and promised a pardon upon good terms. At that moment Elizabeth was dying, and when Tyrone reached London to make his personal submission, he found James I king.

By skilful flattery, the earl contrived to win the easily granted favour of the new king, and English officers were furious to see him "smiling in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him." They kept a suspicious watch upon Tyrone, and a few years later accused both him and the O'Donnell chief—whom James had made earl of Tyrconnel—of plotting treason (1607). The two earls fled abroad; their flight was assumed to prove their guilt, and all the territories of both earldoms were declared to be confiscated (1611).

Elizabeth had expended upon Ireland more than the entire parliamentary revenue of the Crown for her reign; that system could not be continued. She had also tried to introduce civilising influences by creating a university at Dublin and asking for clergy to volunteer as missionaries. But the response, in both cases, was too slight to produce much effect. The interminable wars had inflicted hopeless ruin upon the miserable island. The native Irish, the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, and the troops of the Deputies, all used much the same methods—slaughter and fire. Agriculture was destroyed; the commerce which in the Middle Ages had subsisted between the seaports and England, and even France, was extinguished. The seat of the worst trouble had, during Elizabeth's reign, been the purely native district of Ulster. The confiscation under James of the territories of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in that region now gave opportunity for the only kind of permanent conquest which past experience seemed to suggest, a colonisation by settlers who would cultivate the soil and protect themselves. *The Plantation of Ulster* was therefore begun. Six counties were planned out and settlers invited to take over the new Crown lands. Scots, whom Elizabeth had so foolishly banned before, came on James' invitation in considerable numbers; the soil and climate were not so uninviting to them as to Englishmen. The city of London took over the responsibility for Derry, a little place situated upon a magnificent harbour, and London-derry began slowly to thrive.

The problem of the existence of numbers of native Irish in the confiscated territory was dealt with much as would have been the case in the dark ages, and as the settlers in America, at that very time, did with Red Indians. They might remain as serfs of the new settlers, or go away into the wilds of Connaught. There was certainly ample room in all quarters of the island, though there might not be any means of subsistence. There was little thought of undertaking the hopeless task of civilising the natives; the colonists had enough to do to wring a living out of the soil and protect their own lives.

THE STEWART LINE IN ENGLAND



James I	March 24, 1603–March 27, 1625
Charles I	March 27, 1625–Jan. 30, 1649
Interregnum	Commonwealth 1649–1653
	Protectorate: Oliver Cromwell, Dec. 16, 1653–Sept. 3, 1658
	Richard Cromwell, 1658–July 1659
Charles II	Anarchy: July 1659–April 1660
James II	May 29, 1660
Mary II and William III	Feb. 6, 1685 (fled Dec. 1688, d. 1701)
Anne	Feb. 13, 1689 (Mary d. Dec. 1694)
	March 8, 1702–1714

XXIII

THE SCOTTISH KING ON THE ENGLISH THRONE.

ENGLAND AND EUROPE (v)

JAMES I (1603-1625)

FOR many years before the death of Elizabeth little doubt had been felt of the succession of James VI, king of Scots, to her throne. He was the lineal heir, descended from the elder daughter of Henry VII, and though a political party had at one time shown a preference for the Greys, descendants of the younger daughter of Henry VII, it had disappeared before Elizabeth's drastic treatment of the Greys and their insignificant character.

That James Stewart should have ascended the throne so peaceably, and been so loyally served throughout his reign, speaks volumes for the stability of the constitutional government established by Elizabeth, for he was a foreigner, his family descent and traditions Scottish and French, his speech barely to be understood, and his native kingdom for 300 years the standing national enemy.

The great queen had never expressed her own desire as to the succession (the stories of her deathbed scene are almost certainly myths), nor was the crown, as she well knew, hers to bestow. But she had carefully maintained friendly relations with James VI, and her principal ministers and courtiers had privately done the same. So upon her death, messenger after messenger went galloping over the North Road, in frantic endeavour to be the first to bring the joyful tidings to the new king.

The whole English people awaited his coming peaceably and hopefully, for James' reputation was high. For many years he had successfully ruled Scotland, notoriously a turbulent country with religious parties much like those of England. He had preserved a dignified friendship with Queen Elizabeth and with the monarchs of France and Spain : he was reputed to understand the mainsprings of continental politics. He enjoyed the goodwill of nearly all the English statesmen, while the leaders in the theological controversies, which were at least as important and popular as politics, knew him for a learned expert in their own literature. Less weighty men of letters had heard of him as a patron of poets, musicians and players.

But it is difficult for a middle-aged man to transplant himself to

a new country and a new office, even when the new tasks have a resemblance to the old ones. James I had a lofty standard of his duties—as of his authority: probably few of our sovereigns have taken themselves so seriously, yet few have left so faint an impress on the national imagination. His influence was of a negative kind at an era when a decided lead was required. At home, he balanced opposing parties skilfully enough to avoid any outbreak, but he provided no settlement of the burning questions which burst into conflagration under his son. Abroad, England sank, under his undecided sceptre, from a foremost place among European powers to one doubtful and even contemptible.

James had been educated by his guardians upon the most approved system of book-learning and under the eyes of eminent divines. In one sense he was a good scholar; perhaps the famous French description of him as “the wisest fool in Europe” may stand as his epitaph. In spite of his learning he was pedantic and conceited; theological study convinced him chiefly of his own divine right to supreme authority in Church and State. What he called his *State-craft*—the art of reading men’s minds and instilling into them his own views—left him only the dupe of others and of himself, for thinking he had found devoted servants, he imposed upon himself the rule of favourites whom he selected for their handsome looks or splendid clothes. Worst of all, this descendant of the Stewarts and heir of the Tudors was a coward; a constitutional physical timidity possessed him; he wore clothes quilted all over to baffle the dagger of a possible assassin; the mere mention of war upset him; the sight of a bare blade caused him to quake and shiver. Nor was this unfortunate disability redeemed by moral courage or by any of the more popular arts of royalty. When Lady Raleigh brought her fatherless and disinherited boy to beg for some relaxation of the sentence on Sir Walter, the king wept with pity, but jerked out, “I maun hae the land, I maun hae it for Carr.” Vacillating in temper and undignified in manner, the new king almost invited contempt. He could not help his ungainly form and unsteady gait, but he propped his weakness by lolling on his courtiers’ shoulders, and his every movement was slouching. Misfortune, too, had dogged him in marriage. He had, very wisely, endeavoured to strengthen his position by marrying (1589) into the decisively protestant royal family of Denmark-Norway, always allies of the Tudors, but the sprightly Anne, though sister of the martial and enterprising Christian IV (1588–1648), proved a frivolous, extravagant woman, whose coquetting with Roman priests hampered her husband much more than her credit for kind-heartedness assisted him. James copied only the worst trait of his Danish connections, and under him the English court became (for the first time since Hardicanute) notorious for drunkenness.

After the rigid propriety of Elizabeth’s court the laxity of James

was at first popular. Display and merriment was the order of the day—dancing, acting, music, gambling and racing. Fine clothes, jewels, beautiful horses, pet dogs, pictures, ornament—these opened the way to James' favour. It was extremely expensive to be a courtier, but the new king was extravagantly generous. Unhappily James paid no heed to the abilities or morals of those who caught his fancy, and some of his favourites earned a dark repute for dishonesty or personal vice. There was, however, some significance in his distribution of favours. Those whom he well knew to have been his good friends during Elizabeth's years were richly rewarded—the Cecils and Careys, on the one hand, and the surviving members of Essex' party, on the other hand, especially Shakespeare's old patron, the earl of Southampton. The enemies of Essex, Raleigh at their head, were left in the cold, and Bacon, who bent his best energies to win the royal favour by real services to the Crown and the nation, found his past record a drawback. For this the king can hardly be criticised, for that Raleigh and Bacon were, in genius and political insight, so infinitely superior to the rest, does not appear to have been discovered by their contemporaries.

The difficulties which beset James' course might have tried the skill and courage of the ablest, for the seventeenth century opened among the gravest problems. The chief of them were: (1) The religious problem of Europe, now divided between two warring Christian parties, each of which, with ever fiercer conviction, held the other to be wicked and dangerous. Inextricably involved with religion were great international political questions: Should Spain be the arbiter of Europe and America? Could the German States win real independence of the Emperor? Would all Roman-catholic powers combine against all Protestant ones, or would the Middle States (France and England) be moved by some further consideration than religion? (2) As pressing were the religious controversies of the English themselves: Should the Church be a department of the State? Should it become calvinist? How far, and by which party should persecution be used? (3) Finally, there was a constitutional and practical question as yet unexpressed in words: Where lay the supreme authority and how far could it command obedience?

As time went by it became evident that for England the first question to decide was the newest and strangest: Where does *Authority* reside? Upon the answer depended the solution both of the religious problem and of the question of English intervention in the international struggle between the forces of freedom and tyranny.

In 1603 there was scarcely a section of society in England which was not expecting a boon from the new king. (1) Of the religious parties, the Puritans, kept in repression by the severity of Elizabeth and Archbishop Whitgift, supposed that a monarch educated from

infancy in the school of Knox, sternest of reformers, might remodel the English Church to their pattern. The Roman-catholics hoped that the son of the martyred Mary and the friend of Spain would at least provide tolerable conditions for those of his mother's faith. Earnest churchmen, who had endured, almost in despair, Elizabeth's callous indifference to the insults and robberies inflicted on the Church by greedy laymen, hoped for a restoration of its authority and rights.

(2) In social matters, the peasantry of the Midlands trusted in the new king to do them justice against the land-grabbers who had been for so many years seizing commons and enclosing open fields; those of the North hoped to recover the traditional habits of merry England, lately banned by their puritan landlords and pastors. In all the manufacturing districts small employers and working men hoped for relief from the dominance of the large and wealthy employers which had resulted from recent parliamentary regulation.

(3) Finally, the surviving Elizabethan politicians each hoped to find his own policy adopted and to become the king's chief minister. Of these the four most eminent were Cecil, Raleigh, Bacon and Coke. **Sir Robert Cecil** was a patriotic, hard-working, prudent man, trained for office all his life by his father, but without Burleigh's grasp of realities or his gift for divining the course of great movements. Cecil, who was not above attending to his own profit, had won James' confidence by sending him secret intelligence from Elizabeth's court. The new king considered him to be the one man able to rule England and worthy to advise himself. Cecil did not make the race to Scotland, but soberly met his new master at York, as one handing over a charge, and James received him with such marked favour as to stir profound discontent in Cecil's rival, Raleigh. **Sir Walter Raleigh** was then, and had for some time been, the most unpopular man in England, ever since his share in the execution of Essex was known. A proud, arrogant man, conscious of his own genius, his brain teeming with new schemes for making fortunes, colonising America, civilising Ireland, or founding industries, burning with hatred of Spain, his country's foe, and with impatience to carry out a decisive attack upon her, he yet was suspected by many who resented his arrogance of being actually an intriguer against his own country. Only Elizabeth had trusted him, but even she had never given him full scope. **Sir Francis Bacon** was another man of genius who had never been allowed much opportunity by the old queen, and who, like Raleigh, hoped to obtain favour and opportunity from James. He was recognised as the foremost figure in the House of Commons, but in his profession, the Law, he had a jealous rival in the learned Coke. **Sir Edward Coke** had made a great reputation in the parliaments of Elizabeth. In matters which might affect himself he was apt to be on the winning side, and to Raleigh and Bacon, whose rise he thought to imperil his own, he was disgracefully unjust.

But upon the great constitutional question Coke saw clearly, and he unhesitatingly directed the House of Commons to its courageous assertion of the right of parliament to a full share in deciding national policy.

The new king was already middle-aged when he came to this kingdom, and he naturally read its problems in the light of his experience in Scotland. He had managed to assert a good deal of authority over the selfish and violent Scottish factions, chiefly by careful balancing of persons and interests, and he was prepared to rule England and manage Europe on the same lines. But the prosperity and safety he found in his new kingdom seem to have relaxed his judgment and vigilance.

James I took a sufficiently intellectual standpoint to desire, like Elizabeth, toleration in the abstract for varying views upon Christian worship and belief. But he had both a judicial and a personal distaste for the arrogance of the Scottish Presbyterian clergy, from whom he had been compelled to endure, from childhood, tedious sermons and zealous upbraidings, by no means confined to religious topics, for the calvinist ministers held that the State ought to be subordinate to the Church, and maintained as firmly as any pope the sacred authority of the Church, as voiced by themselves, to dictate to or criticise the rulers of the State. When, therefore, on his arrival in England, the king was greeted by a number of Puritans bearing a petition for alterations within the Church upon puritan lines, he broke into a fit of indignation and even sent to prison ten of the leaders. This, the so-called *millenary* petition, was signed, it is said, by over 700 ministers, and requested, among other things, that the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage and of the surplice should be abolished and that parish clergy should be required to dwell in their parishes. To these and many other similar contentions, the University clergy issued a reply, and James convened a Conference to meet in his presence at Hampton Court, where the bishops and their puritan opponents were to present the arguments of the two sides.

The Roman-catholics were even more indignant than the Puritans, for James had given them to understand that he would not allow the fines imposed on them by law to be collected, and he did not altogether carry out his intention.

Before the end of the year 1603, Cecil's secret service had notified the government of two plots. As they were detected at once, few definite steps had been taken, and many persons believed that nothing dangerous had ever been mooted, but that Cecil exaggerated for his own purposes. The so-called *Main Plot* was a scheme of discontented politicians to change the government, perhaps by placing Arabella Stewart upon the throne. She was James' first cousin (see p. 96), descended, like himself, from Margaret Tudor. The other intrigue (called the *Bye Plot*) involved a number of Roman-catholics who were plotting to

kidnap James and terrify him into granting them toleration. Among the malcontents of the *Main Plot* was a certain Lord Cobham, a friend of Sir Walter Raleigh, and when the plotters were arrested, Raleigh found himself also arrested and accused of treason. Both Cecil and Coke were afraid of Raleigh's influence in politics and seized the opportunity to ruin him. Everyone was ready to believe the worst of Raleigh; he was accused of taking Spanish bribes to betray England to Philip III, and the jury declared him guilty. Although James did not order him to execution, a conclusion for which the Spanish ambassador was incessantly agitating, he shut him up in close imprisonment in the Tower, where he vainly strove to vindicate his patriotic intentions, and to console himself by writing a *History of the World*.

"No one but my father," said Henry, the young Prince of Wales, indignantly, "would keep such a bird in such a cage."

The mind of James I was obstinately impressed by certain convictions: one was a conscientious preference of peace to war, another was a profound deference to the mighty power of Spain. That war with Spain was impossible, because she was so strong, and unnecessary, because she was so friendly to Scotland and its king, was his belief, for which, indeed, he had some grounds, since the pope and the king of Spain, anxious to free their hands for the coming struggle in Germany, had relinquished, for the present, the hope of recovering England, and now simply tried to keep her from aiding the Protestant side in Europe. Though Spain sustained the lengthy Irish rebellion with munitions and trained officers, Spanish ambassadors had shown apparent friendship to James in Scotland, while the pope had even assured him that the English Roman-catholics should do nothing to hinder his accession. James, therefore, gave a warm reception to Count Gondemar, who brought the overtures of Philip III for a permanent peace. Unpopular though peace was among the English people, there was no obvious cause for war—Ireland being regarded as a colony. Negotiations had already begun (concluded in 1609) between Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in which James, led by Cecil, gave honourable assistance. The English king insisted that he was himself bound by the undertakings of Elizabeth and did not desert his allies. At the same time he stipulated for the right of English merchant ships to trade with the Spanish settlements in the East and West Indies. This treaty (1604) appeared to be an excellent beginning of a new peace policy, but it was spoiled by the Roman-catholics themselves, whose hopes had been raised so high by the peace, that on discovering that no further concessions would be made to them, a party of country gentry, many of whom had been concerned in the Essex plot of 1602 against Elizabeth, planned the famous *Gunpowder Plot* of 1605.

Realising that parliament was their principal enemy, the con-

spirators plotted to blow up the Houses when the king was opening the session, and then to carry off and crown his little daughter Elizabeth, whom they intended to bring up in their own faith. The majority of the English, they thought, would then be so terrified as to permit the penal laws to be abolished. Terror still appeared to the Romanists the natural method of exerting influence. The plot, however, was revealed, and the plotters seized, tried and executed. Terrorism, as usual with the English, provoked not submission, but fierce retaliation—a lesson the Romanists never learned. The mob nearly tore down the Spanish ambassador's house; parliament increased the severity of the penal laws, and James perceived that the time was not yet propitious for toleration. Indeed for nearly two centuries longer the national attitude to Roman-catholics was influenced by the tradition of this Plot, which thus proved a curse to the co-religionists of the conspirators. It was also a severe blow to the king's hope of carrying parliament with him in making peaceable settlement with Spain, which would involve tolerance to the Romanists in England.

The formal peace of 1604 between England and Spain, upon which James not unreasonably prided himself, and that of 1609 between Spain and the United Provinces, did not, in spite of his hopes, put a stop to the strife which had been raging for the past forty years. One phase was closed, but another was about to open in the duel between despotism and liberty, Romanism and Protestantism.

The keen eye of Henri IV of France had long been watching the turmoil among the German states, where the Hapsburg power of Austria, closely allied with the Hapsburg power of Spain, was endeavouring to establish a system which should replace under imperial and papal absolutism the states which had established Lutheranism or Calvinism, together with princely independence. In this year, 1609, occurred an event certain to precipitate an open contest.

"Matter enough!" cried Henri IV, when some one asked whether any serious matter caused the royal gloom: "matter enough! Here is the duke of Cleves gone and died, and left Everybody his heirs!"

The Duchy of Cleves lay on the lower Rhine, commanding its passage just on the frontiers of Germany, the United Provinces, and the Spanish Netherlands (Flanders, Brabant, etc.). The principal claimants were Protestants, but the Emperor claimed to dispose of the succession, and a war for this important strategical position seemed likely. The great French king, now firmly seated on the throne, believed that the despotic powers, who were the persecuting powers and also the national foes of France, must be faced before they could snatch advantages in Germany, for, should a united and papalist empire be consolidated there, it would mean the subjection, and perhaps the dismemberment, of France, the

extinction of the newly-won liberties of the United Provinces, and the greatest danger to those of England, Denmark and Switzerland.

The *Protestant Union*, which had been formed by the Protestant German states, offered a nucleus for the alliance which Henri IV hoped to oppose to the Hapsburg-papal concert. He joined it, and so did the three naval powers, England, Denmark and the republic of the United Provinces. It is at this time that the word *Dutch* came to be used in England of the republic.

Then the heart and brain of the alliance was suddenly struck down. The Jesuits' pupil, Ravaillac, assassinated Henri IV (1610) and the papal-imperial alliance reaped the full benefit of the crime. The sceptre of France fell to a child, Louis XIII, and the Regents had enough to do in controlling the unruly elements let loose at home without entering upon an international crusade of which they had little comprehension. James I was a poor substitute for Henri IV, yet to him turned the Dutch, the Danes and the German princes, and for the moment his vanity was captivated by the idea of posing as the head of the Protestant Union. Such national sentiment as could be stirred in England by great questions was heartily for the Protestant cause, and the royal alliance whereby James was persuaded to seal, for the moment, his support of the German princes, was extremely popular. This was the betrothal of James' daughter Elizabeth, who herself embodied all the charm of the Stewarts and the intrepidity of the Tudors, to Frederick, the young Elector Palatine, whose dominion, the Palatinate of the Rhine, was one of the principal German Protestant states.

But misfortune hung over the Protestant cause. The same year (1612) saw the death of the most firm of the English ministers, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, as well as that of the popular and gifted heir to the throne, Henry Prince of Wales. It was no secret that the prince differed widely from his father, that he favoured a bold anti-Spanish policy, and was personally friendly with the Elector Palatine. The beautiful Princess Elizabeth and her two brothers were most tenderly attached to each other. Had Henry become king the alliance with the Germans and the king of Denmark would have been a strong and active partnership. But on his death and that of Salisbury James was left unrestrained in his over-clever schemes, and he fell, an easy tool, into the hands of his favourites and even of the Spanish ambassador Gondemar. He quarrelled with his parliaments, dismissed and disgraced in turn his most eminent servants, Chief Justice Coke and Lord Chancellor Bacon, while the minister who replaced Salisbury, Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, was an excellent financier but pro-Spanish in tendency, and abetted James' subservience to Spain, which extended to the sacrifice of Raleigh on the scaffold (1618), and the suppression of an ambitious mercantile company—the famous *Virginia Company* (1623).

From the time of the princess's marriage (1613), the Protestant

Union, and with it the hard-pressed cause of liberty, national and religious, was required to trust entirely to James' skill in negotiating with Spain. The king thought that England, herself at peace, and asking nothing of Spain but commercial intercourse, could mediate between Spain and the northern Protestants, and that the papacy also might trust a negotiator which, if non-papal, was also non-calvinist. To this idea of settling questions by treaties he



A MUSKETEER, TIME OF JAMES I, FIRING HIS PIECE LEVELLED ON ITS REST.

still clung, even when the German struggle, in 1618, passed far beyond the limits of negotiation and was heightened by the election of the Elector Frederick as king of Bohemia (1619).

The Bohemians, or Czechs, a liberty-loving and mostly Protestant nation, had long ago, on the failure of their ancient royal line, elected a Hapsburg king. But the despotism of that family roused great discontent, and it was expected on all hands that when the childless King Matthias, who was also Emperor, should die, the

Bohemians would elect a Protestant king. In 1619 Matthias died, and the Bohemians elected Frederick and crowned him, with his wife Elizabeth of England, at Prague. But the Hapsburgs claimed that Bohemia had become the kingdom not of Matthias, but of their family, and the new Emperor, Ferdinand II, with the assistance of his kinsman Philip III, the Roman-catholic German princes, and the pope, proceeded to assert his claim in arms. The German Protestants were less ready; they hoped that Denmark, or England, or France would do the hard work for them. The result was the utter defeat of Frederick and the Bohemians at the battle of Prague (1620) and the flight of the "Snow King." The papalist and imperial league pushed its success further, and drove Frederick and Elizabeth out of the Palatinate also; the quarrel was merged with the older quarrel over Cleves, and all Germany and half her neighbours were swept into the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

James I, to whom the German Protestant princes were anxiously looking, still clung to his negotiations. He had not encouraged his son-in-law to accept the Bohemian crown, but it was felt to be ungenerous in him to leave the titular king and queen refugees in Holland, dependent on the bounty of the Dutch, and his efforts for a peaceful settlement were laughed at publicly. In a comic play at Antwerp, capital of the Spanish Netherlands, the post was brought "puffing on to the stage declaring that the Palsgrave will soon have a huge army, for the king of Denmark was to send him 100,000, the Hollanders 100,000 and the king of Great Britain 100,000—that is, Denmark would send 100,000 red herrings, Holland 100,000 cheeses, and King James 100,000 ambassadors."¹

The futility of the royal position was becoming evident to James' latest favourite, the celebrated George Villiers, whom James made earl of Buckingham, but both the king and Buckingham were for some time adroitly managed by the Spanish ambassador, Gondemar. The king fancied that he might assist his son-in-law Frederick, without risking anything himself, if he could make an alliance with Spain by marrying his son and heir Charles to a Spanish princess. Having thus become related to Philip III, he could get him to persuade the Emperor to restore the Palatinate to the Elector out of generosity. The negotiations were spun out by the Spanish ambassador for three years while the imperial league was defeating the Protestants in Germany. Philip III was succeeded by Philip IV (1621), and at last Prince Charles, as well as Buckingham, who had become his sole friend and favourite, lost patience, and in their boyish zeal determined to go themselves, uninvited, to Spain and accomplish on the spot, by their personal importunity, the marriage with the Infanta, sister of Philip IV. To the terror of the English, and even of James himself ("I shall never see my baby again," he wept), the heir to the crown actually flung himself into the enemy's hands

¹ S. C. Lomas—State Papers of the Early Stuarts and the Interregnum. *Trans. R. Hist. Soc. N. S.* xvi.

(1623). The dignified court of Spain was deeply offended, but continued to go on drawing up treaties in which England was to guarantee everything and the king of Spain was to expend nothing beyond benevolent wishes. "I like not to marry my son with a portion of my daughter's tears," protested James. Even Charles and Buckingham at length perceived that they were being played with; the English envoy in Spain implored Buckingham to get the prince away safely, and the two fled home again, furious at the absurdity of the position in which they had landed themselves.¹

The relief felt at their safe return was so great that the folly which had caused the escapade was overlooked, and when Buckingham not only brought James to break off the unlucky marriage scheme, but advocated a war with Spain, he suddenly became popular with both parliament and the multitude (1624), while Middlesex, who opposed him, lost office and liberty. James at least understood that this war meant costly campaigns in Germany and continental alliances, but the parliamentary leaders dreamed of bringing back Elizabethan days, gone for ever, when every younger son with £20 in his pocket could find fortune and a career at no expense to his family or the State—as Sir Benjamin Rudyard said. "Are we poor?" cried Sir John Eliot, a protégé of Buckingham, "Spain is rich! break with her and we break our necessities." While the House of Commons rang with these buccaneering sentiments, Buckingham was arranging for the alliance with France, which was a necessity if there was to be a Spanish war. The hand of Charles was offered to the French princess Henrietta Maria, and the astute French minister, Richelieu, well pleased to hamper Spain, stipulated for tolerance of Roman-catholics in England. Before the treaty was completed, James died (1625), but his death made little difference, for Buckingham remained chief minister and went himself to France to complete the alliance. Charles scrupulously fulfilled his pledges, issuing pardons to the Romanists for their breach of the religious statutes on the day when his marriage was celebrated by proxy in France, but then, finding that Richelieu refused to declare war on Spain and had not promised tolerance to Huguenots or help to the German Union, he suspended the operation of his pardons by orders to the Judges. Buckingham's amateur diplomacy had pledged England but left her ally unpledged, nor had Buckingham condescended to obtain parliamentary guarantees. These two gross omissions ruined the otherwise reasonable foreign policy of Charles I.

¹ The nursery rhyme "I have a little nut-tree," etc., is usually ascribed to this plan of a Spanish marriage, though it might refer to that of Henry VII.

XXIV

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

(1588-1625)

IN the history of the national mind and spirit the death of the great queen does not mark a line of cleavage, any more than in the history of society and commerce. The "watershed" lay rather in the years immediately following the defeat of the Armada (1588), when the terrible national anxiety was suddenly converted to a general triumph. Amid the certainty of victory and a zest of achievement which felt no task too difficult, opens the most brilliant age of English literature, splendid with the renown of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher, of Hooker and Bacon, and a succession of great names without a break to the days of Milton and Dryden.

As in political and social affairs, so also in the mental sphere, the wealth of accomplishment renders it difficult to make generalisations. It is no longer possible truthfully to consider the religious and intellectual advance as an allied whole: religious thought has come to occupy a sphere of its own.

(A) INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS

Scholarship flourished steadily up to the outbreak of the Civil War, but the study of Latin and Greek now led men less to abstract philosophical speculation and more to a search into history both past and contemporary, especially the history of their own country. A beginning was made of mathematical study, which, as well as some early steps taken towards the observation of natural science, owes much to the influence of Francis Bacon. He may be said to have started afresh a movement dormant since his far-distant predecessor, Friar Roger Bacon, not so much by making investigations himself as by pointing out the lines upon which investigation must proceed.

Scientific discovery, like most other studies, derived great impetus from Italy, where Galileo was famous,¹ nor did religious discords or continental wars discourage Englishmen from visiting that or other countries. Travel abroad, for pleasure and informa-

¹ Active from 1583 till 1632, when he was tried and imprisoned by the Inquisition. Died 1637.

tion, was becoming a recognised part of the education of young noblemen, and was resorted to so much that Burleigh had thought it wise to discourage it. When some young man of wealth came to obtain the necessary permission—equivalent to a passport—from the Privy Council, he would question him, and if he found him unacquainted with England, would bid him “stay at home and learn his own country first.” But Burleigh could not check the outward-bound temper of the adventurous. The Spa, near Limburg (now in Belgium), was already fashionable, and there were opportunities of combining the pursuit of business with that of knowledge or pleasure. Burleigh was chagrined to find that his own eldest son was more absorbed in the amusements and fashions of Paris than in his studies. Only a generation later Nicholas Ferrar, the son of a wealthy London alderman, visited the great cities of central Europe, from Amsterdam to Venice, chiefly to study their social organisation, and found in many of them better models, as to hospitals, education and poor-relief, than London could furnish.

This eager interest felt in cosmopolitan life is seen, not only in the understanding which Englishmen had of European politics, and their keenness for commerce with foreign countries, but in the world of books. The *euphuistic* style of writing, which was for some time fashionable, and to which Lyly's *Euphues and his England* gave its name, came from Spanish literature. Italian literature furnished models of more enduring nature, to which Spenser was indebted, as, later, Milton. Many of Shakespeare's plots come from Italian stories which were popular here in translations.

The great increase in controversial pamphlets, which were usually extremely abusive, alarmed the government, and parliament made a law against *libel* (1581) which decreed savage penalties on those who wrote or printed libellous attacks on the authorities.

There were plenty of other books, however, and a thirst for knowledge, whether gathered from nature, men or books. Probably the learned tastes of James I fostered this tendency, but the country squires were ready readers of large works, especially of those historical compilations which taught the English of the glory of their country's past, the various *Chronicles*, of which Shakespeare was one insatiable student. The great work of Hakluyt seems to aim at a sort of continuation of those histories, being a contemporary record of discovery intended to provide a basis for scientific, commercial and national enterprise together. The same pride of country is illustrated by Drayton's poetical descriptions, by Stowe's careful research into the antiquities of London, by Archbishop Parker's editions of the ancient chronicles, and Shakespeare's and Marlowe's historical dramas. Love of country was a religion to a great number of intellectual men, from Burleigh, Drake, Spenser or Hakluyt, to many a quiet physician and clergyman, studying privately to advance knowledge, many a schoolmaster bringing up his boys to “serve God and the queen,” and to the London

merchants who thought of the New World as a refuge for distressed Englishmen, who should make new and better homes for themselves and teach savages the Faith of the English. The highest testimony to the love of books and the importance attached to them is that great edition of the English Bible commonly called *The Authorised Version* of James I. It was the one positive result of the *Hampton Court Conference* of 1604, when the king made an effort to harmonise the conflicting views of the episcopal leaders of the English Church with those of the Puritan party. In a translation of the Scriptures all sections of learned men could join, and thus was completed, under Archbishop Bancroft, the noblest translation of the Bible in any modern tongue.

(B) EDUCATION

Quite in keeping with this vigour of writers and readers is the renewed activity of education. Between 1560 and 1612 the benefactions of private citizens founded Rugby, Harrow, Charterhouse, Merchant Taylors', Blundell's school at Tiverton, Harpur's at Bedford and about 150 Free Grammar Schools. Westminster itself was re-founded (as was badly needed), while a number of recently founded, or re-founded, schools were well maintained. In the early 17th century a number of day schools appear, in large villages and little towns, which were of semi-private type. There was, perhaps, a small endowment bringing in a few pounds a year, and possibly a building of barn-like nature, repaired occasionally by some local benefactor. The schoolmaster, appointed by the squire or the inhabitants, charged fees for the boys, proportioned to the wealth of the parents, and gave more attention to the lad who was well paid for. Four pounds a year seems to have been a good fee in Essex. The school was often given to the vicar, to enable him to earn some addition to his meagre stipend. Such schools arose, flourished and vanished according to the honesty of the "patron" (*i. e.* trustee), the zeal of the population and the talent of the schoolmaster. A popular master might earn £70 a year and have to employ an usher, whose salary was good if it amounted to £20 a year besides board and lodging.

In the University of Oxford, which, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, "in every part lay ruined and waste," a retired diplomatist, Sir Thomas Bodley, restored the lost library and began the erection of University buildings. Some at least of his critics considered him merely vainglorious, but his example was honourably copied and several new or re-founded colleges rose under James and enabled the University to begin to recover its place in national education. Cambridge, which had been the leading University since Henry VIII, acquired two new colleges under Elizabeth. But the usefulness of a college—as of a school—depended wholly upon the individual Heads and Fellows, nor was it by any means a matter of course

that such men would be fit for their duties, or even of decent behaviour. One famous old college, at least, was nearly ruined by a crushing load of debt, piled up by a series of scandalous dons. A letter from Oxford (about 1635), after describing the drunken and idle Fellows of Brasenose, adds, "but I believe (which they fear) the little Man of Lambeth will act the part of a wise physician." That Laud did act this part is well known, and maybe his consequent unpopularity is not to his discredit.

All colleges and schools aimed at educating boys on the "new" system of Erasmus and his friends—the study of Latin and Greek literature, generally called the Humanities. Careful provision was made for religious instruction, and all were officially under the direction of the bishops and clergy, much as in older days. As the two universities were the nurseries of the teachers, the influences there were certain to make themselves felt, in time, upon the teaching in schools, and the archbishops took pains to oversee the University courses. In Cambridge Puritanism had long been strong; in Oxford, when under James it began to revive, less strong. The independence of the Heads and Fellows caused them to resent episcopal regulation or inquiry, quite apart from its purport, and this prevented the bishops from attaining to as much control as they desired. Nevertheless the puritan clergy and scholars were apt to complain that the direction of education lay too much in the hands of the episcopate: a grievance hardly borne out by the available evidence. In education, as in royal or local government or the law-courts, the official and assumed condition of things was often far removed from the actual circumstances.

There was, at all events, one great exception to the connection of the clergy with education. The law colleges of London—the Temple and other Inns of Court—were secular. Practically they provided, and had done from the fifteenth century, a third university. Young gentlemen who expected to mix in public affairs or to manage estates were as likely to seek their final training there as in Oxford or Cambridge. Being outside the authority of the bishops, the Inns of Court had been from the fifteenth century marked by a decided anti-clerical temper, the effect of the professional rivalry between the lay, or Crown, courts and the ecclesiastical courts. This developed in them a strong puritan tendency, so that in the conflicts of Charles I, though the judges frequently supported the Crown, the lawyers were mostly in opposition.

The number of new laws under the Tudors made legal advice increasingly necessary for those who had to direct business on any considerable scale, so that the views of the lawyers were sure to influence the large and growing middle class, and this provided an additional impulse towards Puritanism.

Far apart from puritan, or other theological controversy, is the typical poetry of the seventeenth century (c. 1590–1650). The wealth of song suggests a whole world of joyousness, of dancing,

singing and making merry, side by side with the grave party whose stern if temporary victory perhaps attracts our attention too entirely.

A large part of the people of England, up to 1635, can have paid little serious heed to the gathering clouds. Perhaps Herrick is one of the most typical figures. In youth a protégé of Buckingham, he had been the splendid duke's chaplain in the Isle of Rhé. From court he went to Devonshire to become a country parson, but under the Commonwealth took refuge in London, where for a short time he was permitted, though a royalist, to minister in church. Throughout his private and public griefs he retained his purity of heart and ear. He seems a concrete illustration of the universal love of the country, music and song which characterised England from the Armada to Marston Moor.

The bitterness of party controversy naturally inclined some, and perhaps many, men whose attainments fitted them for leadership to prefer retirement. An eminent instance is the young Lord Falkland. His father had been an unsuccessful Lord Deputy in Ireland; he himself was a distinguished scholar and patron of scholars in the University of Oxford. At his country house, Great Tew, within a ride of Oxford, he loved to gather learned or original spirits, who found in him "such a vast knowledge that he was not ignorant in anything, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air, so that his house was a university in a less volume."

(C) RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS (1590-1625)

The ardent temper of expectant conquest was exhibited in no sphere more vigorously than in the religious. With the Armada Romanism itself had sustained a blow and the zealous looked forward to a more crushing victory. In the religious as in the political arena the more extreme party wanted to hurry forwards: safety seemed secured and moderation no longer necessary.

The extreme party in religion consisted of those calvinistic clergy and controversialists whose gaze was fixed almost exclusively upon the danger from Rome. This danger was still present; it was not only a danger of perversion to wrong doctrine but of actual persecution: though the defeat of the Armada had secured England against a Romanist military conquest, there still remained the threat of a possible foreign successor to the throne: the assassinations in rapid succession of William of Orange, of Henri III and of Henri IV, the assassination plots against Elizabeth, the massacres of St. Bartholomew and in the Low Countries, and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 gave glaring witness to the unconquerable determination of the agents of Rome and to their versatile methods. There was a further danger (as was believed) of a gradual perversion, by

bribery and flattery, of persons in eminent positions. And, as it is the nature of the terrified to be suspicious and unreasoning, the extreme anti-romanist agitators insisted that every scrap of a Church system which had also been the Roman Church system must be tainted with papistry, so that to resist Rome it was necessary to abolish the entire episcopal organisation—bishops, dioceses, cathedrals, episcopal courts and officers (archdeacons, etc.), and the ordination of deacons, priests and bishops. With this was to disappear most of the sacramental ritual and dogma as it then existed, and a fresh system was to be established, from which almost every rite to which people had been accustomed should be excluded. No ceremonial or doctrine was to be permitted which could not be found in the Scriptures or in Calvin's interpretation.

Neither Elizabeth nor the bishops could allow that all Christian development between the first and the sixteenth centuries had been erroneous, while the puritan leaders themselves admitted that some organisation was necessary, and they urged the adoption of one which they chose to consider more logically deduced from Scripture than the system of the early and medieval Church as inherited in England.

They had advocated, in *The Book of Discipline*, a presbyterian scheme of Church government, modelled upon the Swiss and Scotch systems, but it found little support among the English clergy, and owed what temporary success it obtained, partly to the support of London and Bristol merchants and the strong opponents of Romanism in Lancashire, partly to the interested political support of the earl of Leicester and a few other noblemen.

The extreme section among this "Protestant" or "reforming" party was throughout inspired by foreign modes of thought: they studied foreign divines, quoted foreign example as a decisive authority, and by *history* habitually meant the narratives of the German and French reforming movements. Above all they and their lay patrons (who alone could engineer victory, by influencing parliament) came to adopt the French and German attitude towards Church government.

Seen in Germany on a great scale among the governing princes, in France, upon a smaller scale, among the Huguenot petty nobility, this system was that the lord of each state or fief was the autocrat of its religion. German princes denied the right of the emperor, French Huguenots resisted the claim of the king, to dictate the creed which was to be held by the Church in their domains. In Swiss cantons and Dutch provinces the same autocracy was asserted by the governing bodies of citizens. There were in England no fiefs, but every village had a squire: moreover, the gentry and citizens of England had a joint engine of government (which their French contemporaries lacked) in the parliament, which claimed to speak with national authority.

It became the first aim of the extreme Protestant party (the nickname of *Puritan* was considered insulting until long after Elizabeth's death) to replace royal authority by parliamentary authority, and the control of the bishop by the control of a local board, on which the lay patrons of the movement would have a considerable—and as the event proved, the principal—influence.

The first task, then, before the extreme, or revolutionary, enthusiasts was to construct a party. Organisation is naturally at first the work of a minority, for a majority contented with the condition of things does not agitate. In Elizabeth's time the puritan leaders were busy chiefly with printing literature to advocate their views. They may almost be said to have discovered the power of the Press to create a public opinion. Controversy, from this period till the close of the seventeenth century, and later, was unrestrained in language. No accusation was too wild, no term of abuse too gross, to be hurled against an opponent on paper: to call Whitgift "the Canterbury Caiaphas" was comparatively mild language. When publications began to be inspected, the Puritans took to printing secretly, and the audacity of their action and of their language probably increased their audience. Thus originated the tracts against the episcopate signed by "Martin Mar-prelate," whose arguments for the most part consisted of strong assertions and violent personal abuse. Severe and long imprisonment was meted out by the High Commission Court to persistent offenders, and Puritans called it cruel, but no government could have overlooked the seditious tendency of preachers who termed bishops "the modern Korah, Dathan and Abiram," or the queen "an untamed heifer that would not be ruled by God's people." Foreigners laughed at the theological chatter of the common people of London, "wiser than the wisest" of other nations, they said, "for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination and to determine what laws were fit to be made concerning Church government: and then, what were for to be obeyed or abolished."

In order to prevent such incitements to disloyalty and clerical disobedience a censorship of the Press was introduced (1572). After the violent attacks of 1581-2 no book or pamphlet was allowed to be printed unless the archbishop or the bishop of London had first seen and licensed the manuscript (1583). Parliament enacted laws (1581, 1583) which punished libel by savage penalties. The Act was used against Romanists and Puritans alike who slandered the queen or her government.

The deaths of Leicester and Walsingham deprived the extremists of their more efficient political leaders, and for the rest of Elizabeth's reign they could but continue their propaganda and prepare for a more extensive effort when her death should place a new sovereign on the throne. For though Essex is sometimes reckoned as a puritan sympathiser, all that he advocated seems to have been

a still wider tolerance for clergy who diverged from the Prayer-book, whether recusants or Calvinists, which would be very far from satisfying the agitation.

The principles of the puritan antagonism to the Prayer-book were deeply rooted. Not only was an authoritative Book of prayers lamented, as a barrier to the extempore prayer which the sincere Puritan believed to be put into his mouth by divine influence,—not only did the sacramental rites ordained in the Prayer-book include ceremonial which Puritans held popish (the sign of the Cross in baptism) or heathenish (the ring in marriage)—but the very assertion of a spiritual value in sacraments seemed to be a denial of the supreme puritan conviction of the immediate closeness of the individual soul to God. Typical Puritans suspected that an ordained clergy and the Church doctrine of the Lord's Supper implied the need of an intermediary between the individual Christian and his God. To the typical Puritan pastor, therefore, the Prayer-book was “an intolerable burden”; he could not be reconciled to it and he adopted every means of avoiding it. As the Catechism was to be taught to children after the morning sermon the determined Puritan preached in the afternoon. Baptism was administered privately. Often the incumbent would cut short the service in church and conduct a non-Prayer-book service in the private house of his puritan patron. Where the puritan gentry found their parson out of sympathy with them they took to arriving at church after the Liturgy was finished, only in time for the sermon, or rode to other churches which they approved of.

Archbishops Whitgift (*d.* 1604) and Bancroft (1604–1610) and most of their colleagues used their episcopal authority and the Court of High Commission to try to secure a general conformity of worship in the national churches, and devoted their personal endeavours to procure a real religious instruction of the people. In this last respect they were but partially successful, because the numbers of the devout clergy were so few. It was a natural result of the convulsions in the Church up to 1558, and of its systematic plunder ever since by Elizabeth, her courtiers and the gentry at large, that what had now become a poverty-stricken profession was not sought by many well-qualified men. Either ill-qualified clergy had to be ordained, or parishes must be put together, or else left unserved. There is ample testimony to the neglected condition of the country parishes ever since 1549. Churches were sometimes used as hay-barns, cathedrals were decaying and some, even St. Paul's itself, partially in ruins. Noblemen and gentlemen retained chaplains in their mansions, whom they treated as mere servants, while the vicarage was left empty and the children who ought to be instructed by the clergy were growing up heathen.

The laymen who had purchased from the Crown those endowments (the great tithes) which had once belonged to monastic

institutions, paid but a tiny salary to the vicar—£5 or £10—as in the fifteenth century. The vicar might have the small tithes if he could squeeze them out of his parishioners; but he was often as reluctant as Chaucer's poor parson of old to "curse" (in seventeenth-century fashion, to sue) for his dues, and he seldom if ever got all he was entitled to. For instance, in the flourishing town of Leek the inhabitants had bought up their tithes themselves and so saved a total of £400 a year. They gave the vicar £10. In the vast parish of Manchester, which by this time was a rapidly growing town in the midst of a populous district, all the eleven chapels-of-ease were in ruins in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, and a bare living for two chaplains was extracted only by Burleigh's personal help from the clutches of the earl of Derby, who had secured the bulk of the endowments, while the local squires had taken the rest. Derby was reckoned a great patron of puritan clergy, but it seems that he expected their ministrations to consist solely in sermons, and that the sermons were attended by congregations mainly of the well-to-do and commercial classes. Other aristocratic patrons of the puritan party in James' and Charles' reigns were the earls of Essex, Warwick and Bedford, and Lords Saye, Brooke and Mandeville (Montagu, afterwards earl of Manchester). They preferred an exceedingly plain form of religious service and required a stern morality. They condemned the vices and follies which flourished at the court of James I, but in their much-needed protest against vice they habitually included most kinds of popular amusement—dancing, dressing-up, playing tip-cat, bell-ringing—while they considered their own (hunting, bowls, backgammon or the drama) perfectly right, but, as their own privileges, forbidden to the working classes.

In the same temper they regarded the clergy as useful moral officials, subordinate to the gentry, like other officials, and by no means entitled to authority or independence. In return for providing out of their Church plunder scanty stipends for vicars, they expected to direct their ceremonial and doctrine. This aristocratic attitude made the English lay puritan party antagonists of the episcopal system, Whitgift, Bancroft, and other bishops having defended the clergy from lay interference, legal or parliamentary. Such lords and gentry not only called it *popish* to keep any ceremonial used of old, but were equally opposed to the Scottish presbytery plan, because this, too, placed religious authority above that of the State and paid no special deference to the aristocracy among the lay assessors of the clergy. The mode of thought of all these eminent Puritans, and of many others whose names became famous under Charles I, was essentially of a political type; they took little or no interest in evangelising the ignorant.

On the coming of James I the Puritans made their organised effort. They had got ready for the new king the so-called *millenary petition*, and they obtained their desire of an official hearing on

ostensibly equal terms with the bishops at the Hampton Court Conference (1604).

The Conference is chiefly memorable as exhibiting the impossibility of a compromise, where the two opposed sides held equally conscientious convictions of the importance of their own views and beliefs. The problem before the king "was no less than whether England as a nation should or should not cut itself off from historical Christianity"—as its principles had been understood from the earliest ages on record. It was not possible to James to be in this case really impartial, and the first suggestion of combining with episcopacy a presbyterian board upset his short patience. "A Scottish Presbytery," he cried, "agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasures censure me and my Council." He had, at all events, noted the weakest spot in the presbyterian system, as exhibited in Scotland and the United Provinces—its combination of politics with religion, and the field afforded to ignorant, if well-meaning, interference by the admission of many persons quite unqualified to give judgment, whether laymen or ministers, to the general presbytery and the subordinate committee (or *classis*) of each district. The English bishops at all events safeguarded the Church from the explosions of crude ignorance. Learning, and the wisdom, or at least reasonableness, which a sound education usually implants, were with them a primary consideration. The suggestion that presbyteries might be set up alongside of the bishops was negatived by James, who was uncompromising in his abhorrence of the Scottish system. "No bishop, no king," he said. The next generation, at all events, seemed to justify him.

James at least acted up to his principles more honestly than Elizabeth. He ceased to pillage bishoprics, chapters and rectories, and restored to the hands of the Church such fragments of the plunder as were still available. Thus the bishops had slightly better resources for the maintenance of churches, education and the clergy, although quite insufficient to provide decent subsistence for enough vicars in the country parishes.

The failure of the Conference to effect any of the desired changes, and the king's evident assumption that they were in the position of having to justify themselves before the bishops, naturally roused the Puritans to greater energy in trying to convince public opinion, while Archbishop Bancroft and his colleagues set to work, with better hopes than in the last reign, to obtain some higher standard of conduct and learning in the parish clergy. To this end he and his suffragans carefully inspected (or *visited*) their dioceses and dealt by letter with innumerable inquiries or complaints. Convocation endeavoured to help by voting, in the *Canons* of 1604, that excommunication should be pronounced against those clergy who called the Prayer-book or the Thirty-nine Articles or the

episcopal system *contrary to the Word of God*, or described the ritual of the Church as *superstitious*, a word which then meant popish. As the clergy were all instituted on the express understanding that they adhered to the national Church, the canons required little more than honesty. But the puritan organisers declared that James I and Archbishop Bancroft ejected 300 clergy from their cures (in 1605) for non-acceptance of the standard. The real number was between 50 and 60, but the agitators compiled their figures by counting all who had received an episcopal *admonition* (or warning) as well as all who wrote that they feared they were likely to receive one.

In truth Bancroft and most of the other bishops were very anxious not to deprive their clergy, and spent much patience in persuasion. In many cases disobedience in minor matters was overlooked, in others a compromise was arranged; even of the 50 or 60 ejected several were immediately restored, so that their deprivation was merely technical. It frequently happened that a hot-headed young man found himself able to follow the temperate reasoning of his bishop and to conform, after all, with a clear conscience.

The indignation aroused in the public by their mis-statements the Puritans further increased by arranging a private and secret inquiry on the clergy themselves, and reporting that in every county the bulk of them were unfit for their sacred duties. The inference meant to be drawn was that this was the effect of episcopacy. What the report (on Staffordshire, for instance) very plainly shows is the destitution of the unhappy incumbents and the large incomes annexed, as tithe, by lay citizens and squires. The charges of unfitness appear to be made out only by using language in the exaggerated manner which was now becoming characteristic of the sterner Puritans. As their charges are often quoted without explanation, it is well to remember that by *swearing* they meant the use of the mildest expletive (as, *marry*); that by "*gameing*" they meant playing at any kind of game or amusement; *unlearned* might mean, not a B.A. or M.A., or not a student of calvinistic books; a *common drunkard*, or a *tippler*, might mean one who, not being rich enough to brew at home—as few vicars were—got his ale in the village inn, along with many of his quite respectable neighbours; *e. g.* "A lewd [ignorant] young man without Orders and out of all order—weareth a feather in his hat"; or, "famous for his skill in gameing and specially in Bowling." That a young schoolmaster, or usher, helped in Sunday duty for a nominal fee is mentioned as very shocking. A well-known member of parliament, D'Ewes, writes that his own schoolmaster (an excellent teacher and a preacher) "had no regard to the souls of his scholars"—because he did not make them take notes of his sermons or even hear the boys repeat them.

It was by assuming such rigid standards and using such dogmatic

terms that the Puritans made out by their inquisitions that the clergy were all "scandalous":—90 per cent. in Staffordshire are blamed or scorned and of not one is a word of commendation given. When the archbishop learned of the circulation of these secret party reports he energetically denied their justice and accuracy, but the Church and the Crown had no propaganda system whereby to counteract the effect of the steady agitation.

To a genuine case of conscience Bancroft was gentle enough. "An honest and able minister privately protested to him that *it went against his conscience to conform*, being then ready to be deprived. *Which way, saith the Archbishop, will you live if put out of your Benefice?* The other answered, *He had no way but to goe a-begging and to put himself on Divine Providence. Not that, saith the Archbishop, you shall not need to doe; but come to me and I will take order for your maintenance.*"¹

This is the man whom the Puritan press called cruel. Because of his efforts for conformity he was, as a matter of course, abused as a papist, and because he kept up no splendid state—preferring to expend considerably upon clerical education—he was credited with covetousness.

The true springs of devotion flowed, not in controversial, but in deeper and more private channels. A generation earlier Bishop Jewel (*d.* 1571) had turned to the evangelising of private life by scriptural teaching and devout practice. A school of worshippers and thinkers had grown up who courted no publicity and have left little record, to whom the Prayer-book and simple ritual of the Church furnished all that the devout soul needed externally. The names of the saintly Bishop Andrewes (*d.* 1626), of the eloquent Donne (*d.* 1621), of Nicholas Ferrar (*d.* 1637) and his family of voluntary religious seclusionists, of the poets Crashaw, Vaughan and George Herbert (*d.* 1633), of Sir Thomas Browne, the physician who wrote *Religio Medici*, and of gentle Izaak Walton, are among the most eminent, but there were many others, and it was by them that the modern English Church was enduringly rooted among the people. Browne briefly wrote, in 1630, that he disliked nothing in the Church but the name *re-formed*: "Of the same belief our Saviour taught, the apostles disseminated, the fathers authorised and the martyrs confirmed, but . . . it required the careful and charitable hands of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity." Browne was thinking of restoration after puritan innovations, but his words are almost a repetition of Bishop Jewel's challenge (in 1560) to the Romanists, who were then the chief opponents of the English Church, that if they could show one reasonable piece of authority from the first six Christian centuries to justify the papal errors now discarded by the English, he would join them.

¹ Fuller, *Church History*, Bk. X. c. 43.

XXV

LAUD AND THE PURITANS (1625-1639)

WITH the accession of Charles I the parties of opposition to royal autocracy, both clerical and lay, became more excited and more determined on action. The young king's bias was already known. As a delicate boy his studiousness was, perhaps, less remarkable than the gravity which led him to the especial study of theology. Prince Henry once laughingly clapped him on the shoulder, as he sat absorbed in some learned work, and told him that if he kept so well to his book he would make him archbishop of Canterbury. His frame of mind when he himself came to the throne was far other than that of our former theological monarch, also trained for an archbishopric—Henry VIII.

In the ensuing struggle feeling became extremely personal and extremely bitter. A large number of clergy and laity accepted, as their natural duty, obedience to both episcopal and royal authority; the Puritans as naturally found themselves combating bishops and king. Both sides, in the year 1625, took it for granted that the National Church must be uniform in doctrine and ritual, but the Puritans looked approvingly back to the Elizabethan habit of secularising Church endowments and treating the clergy as a class inferior to gentlemen, and they wished to place the Church still further under lay, that is, parliamentary, control. The episcopal side, on the other hand, recognised no State authority over the Church but that of the Crown. The result was a struggle between the two religious forces which became first political and then military, and in the course of the fight Puritan energy became increasingly political while the Church in the end acquired more influence in consequence of its early defeat.

The dearth of clergy and the ruin of churches had left a field to the unauthorised and often unordained ministers which they sometimes occupied with evangelising zeal. This was chiefly the case in towns, where a group of citizens would unite to maintain a "powerful preacher," and it was this condition of things which, more than anything, encouraged the growth of a new custom which soon became a principle, that of non-conformity: that is, the deliberate rejection of a sole national authority in religion, whether royal, episcopal, presbyterian or parliamentary, and separation from the National Church, the congregation alone forming a self-sufficing unit. These congregations took up a very different attitude from

that of the majority of Puritans. They were termed separatists or Brownists, after a notable preacher of Elizabeth's time. They did not desire to see a presbytery in authority (as in Scotland) any more than bishops. They simply asked to be let alone and to withdraw themselves from the Church of the rest of the nation. But this was an idea very shocking to general opinion. Calvinist divines abroad wrote to remonstrate, telling the separatists that to break off fellowship with the Church on account of the garments worn by the clergy (which was the original ground of the schism) was to allow a small error to lead to a greater one. In the end the separation was destined to prove a solution of the problem of the two religious parties, but before such a solution could be accepted, a period of persecution, none the less cruel because so many of the persecutors were quite conscientious, had to be experienced, each side in turn using the weapons of force against its opponents. To puritan feeling, the poetical devotion of a Crashaw, the scholarly culture of a Hales and a Hammond, the voluntary conventual life of the Ferrars, the breadth of mind which inspired Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants*, were equally suspect and dangerous: anything wider than the narrow track of their own definitions they thought opened the way to Rome. Their religion seems almost to have been based upon fear, and they extended to the most broad-minded and spiritual leaders of the Church the same fear and hatred which they bestowed upon popish priests.

The one point on which episcopal and puritan zeal could agree was the repression of the Romanists. After Gunpowder Plot the harsh laws of Elizabeth were revived and the Puritans never wearied of petitioning that the law might be more strictly enforced. The recusants were in fact at the mercy of the Crown, much as the Jews had been in medieval times. The Crown did not wish to drive a number of the English gentry into exile on the continent, where they would be far more dangerous than at home, neither did it desire to break off diplomatic relations with every Roman Catholic sovereign: hence the recusants were accorded a sufficient relaxation of the laws to enable them to go on living in England, though closely watched and much impoverished, a relaxation which the Puritans considered dangerous. The only prelate approved by the extreme Protestants was Archbishop Abbot of York, a strict discourager of Romanism, whose popularity probably caused James to make him Bancroft's successor at Canterbury in 1610. Abbot placed less hindrance in the way of puritan propaganda than his predecessors and interfered less with puritan fashions, so that by 1625 the party had grown stronger. As its leaders were mostly influential nobles and gentry or rich citizens, many of them had been leaders of the parliamentary resistance to the extravagance and pro-Spanish policy of the late King James.

It is about this time that the well-known puritan phraseology becomes noticeable in letters, diaries and speeches. A continual

reference to *the goodness of God* in connection with ordinary daily incidents and the use of particular scriptural terms was almost a fashion. An especial favour with Providence seemed to be assumed, which gave to conversation and correspondence a certain tone of self-righteousness repugnant to more reverent or more modest churchmen. Perhaps not unnaturally, fashionable laymen of the other section of society were apt to go to an opposite extreme, with the result that a man's way of talking at once betrayed his views, or at least his education. The one party called the other 'hypocritical' or 'canting,' and was in return dubbed 'railing,' 'ribald' or 'blasphemous.'

A more serious objection might be taken to the Puritan assumption that "Outward manifestations" of direct Divine approval or blame were to be discerned in the good or ill success of men's ordinary business. Material prosperity was taken as a proof of God's favour, so that the attainment of riches came to be regarded as a kind of merit. The renunciation of pleasures, including the intellectual ones, music, literature and art, led the middle class to concentrate on business, and their sobriety and thrift (since they eschewed most usual occasions of expense) helped them to make money. The respect once paid to rank or high office was transferred to riches and the strange paradox was seen—probably for the first time in the history of religious movements—of a kind of inverted asceticism which conscientiously enjoined a poverty of intellect together with the pursuit of material wealth and comfort. Perhaps it was natural that a standard so easily reached should commend itself to many of the middle classes, but it was not popular with the working class, whose enforced abstinence from play and prolonged hours of work benefited only their employers, and they sometimes complained that their children were not catechised (*i. e.* taught) by the eloquent preaching clergy.

It must have been very difficult for a clergyman to avoid offending his patron or the churchwardens. The latter, or the local Justice, or any of his aggrieved parishioners, could complain of him to the bishop, while the zeal of offended Puritan critics was sometimes gratified by raising the cry of 'papisty,' which was sure to produce local persecution.

The story of the Ferrar family shows how little privacy as yet existed in what we term 'private life.' Nicholas Ferrar and his mother, with his brother and sisters and some nephews and nieces, retired from commercial life in London to a small country property in Huntingdonshire, where they dedicated themselves to a quiet devotional life and the study of the Scriptures, varied only by charity to their poor neighbours and teaching of the children (their own or the poor). But a life avowedly devoted to piety was felt to be 'suspicious' by people in general. Inquisitive persons coming to visit and spy upon the Ferrars, they were loudly accused of popery, nor could the friendship of two bishops and the respect of



ARCHBISHOP LAUD

FROM THE PORTRAIT IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Facing p. 233

Charles I protect them from insult, and at last from assault and pillage at the hands of a mob.

A similar but more threatening outcry was raised over a manual of prayers compiled by one of the royal chaplains. Charles I learned that the Romanist priests and ladies of his wife's suite criticised the English ladies because they possessed no book of private devotion, and he desired Cosin to draw up such a work. Puritan agitators instantly waxed indignant: hours of prayer and manuals for private devotion were *popish*, and complaint was made in the House of Commons, which took upon itself to move for Cosin's punishment.

On the other hand, a studious ex-Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, a Puritan, could not be suffered to live retired in his own house without inquiry from London whether he went to his parish church once a month, and his not doing so led to a summons to appear before the Privy Council.

This rule, that every one must attend the parish church once a month, had been originally made as a test for Roman-catholics, now it was used as a test of Puritans.

The protagonist, under Charles I, of the restoration of the English Church from the Elizabethan depression was William Laud, trained, like Hooker before and Chillingworth later, in the University of Oxford, which now began to recover its old place in education. James made him bishop of St. David's (1621) and Chancellor of Oxford to please Buckingham, and at Oxford he showed his administrative power, his strong determination and the standard he meant to keep up in ritual, discipline and learning. Made bishop of London (1628) by Charles I, he used the great authority of his position for the same ends and on Abbot's death he was at once made archbishop (1633).

Laud aimed at carrying on the work of Bancroft and procured a considerable reformation of the scandals of the Elizabethan system. Laymen no longer were granted ecclesiastical offices, the clergy were neither asked nor permitted to purchase preferment, courtiers were not quartered upon the incomes of the Church. He insisted upon reverence rather than upon an exact observance of rubrics. For example, he was severe upon the custom practised in two cathedrals of holding at the same time a choral service in the choir and a separate (parish) service in the nave, to the great confusion of worshippers. But where the parishioners held a conscientious objection to coming up to the communion rail, he was willing that they should remain in the pews, if they behaved reverently, for he was, as said one who had not always agreed with him, "extraordinary liberal of patience" towards men who had honest grounds of conscience for their opinions. Laud received, and investigated, reports and complaints from all parts of England of churches left in ruins by rich patrons, or acts of profanity or insolence from gentlemen or vulgar bullies. He ordered, for instance, that the

private rooms set up by squires inside churches should be cut down to a level which would allow the congregation to see and hear.¹

What drew upon him the wrath of the Puritans was, probably, his haughty treatment of their lay leaders at least as much as the delusion held by many that he wished to introduce Romanism. The cry that the bishops were concealed papists became loud and popular in the reign of Charles I. The Romanist missionaries had, under James I especially, made a good many notable converts and Queen Henrietta Maria now protected them. The cry of 'papisty' was an unfailing political weapon, from 1604 to 1780, for it raised before the popular vision a nightmare of massacre and assassination.

Laud invariably denied the right of lords and gentlemen to issue their commands to the incumbents of parishes or to reconstruct the Prayer-book for themselves, and, in the same way, he refused to allow the clergy to treat the services and the Prayer-book as they chose.

But he gave a fair investigation of the cases and by no means always rebuked or punished those who were accused by their neighbours. His severity fell rather upon great men who had robbed or desecrated the Church with a high hand, or on clergy totally unfit for their calling. His order, for instance, that the communion table should be replaced at the east end of the church and secured by a railing from irreverent access provoked a storm of protest as a 'rag of popery,' yet the frequent descriptions of profanation, accidental or intentional, proved the unseemliness of the Edwardian plan of placing it beside a door as a stand for hats and cloaks. Laud in fact was carrying out consistently the Henrician scheme, or, rather, that of Parker, Hooker and Bancroft, of a Church freed from the pope and from Roman errors, strengthening itself by the study of earlier centuries and adapting itself to the increasing needs of a progressive civilisation. He was an upright, able and most conscientious prelate, but his fearless determination and a harsh way of speaking when he was faced by opposition which he believed to be factious or political, increased the resentment with which the Puritans regarded him. His colloquial expressions, almost like slang, irritated people; he had no tact and was apt to think the way most unpopular, or unpleasant to himself, likely to be right. He was, however, supported by most of the other bishops, among whom were men so eminent for piety and intellect as Andrewes, Cosin, Hall and Juxon, but his friendship with Buckingham and afterwards with Strafford, and the confidence with which Charles treated him, drew upon him much political odium, so that he was commonly abused for a great deal for which he was not at all responsible and was misrepresented as being intolerant. It has been continually asserted that he ejected numbers of clergy from

¹ Milton's father was one of the indignant squires compelled to lower his pew walls.

their cures for not conforming to his regulations about ritual: very few, were, in fact, ejected at all, and these few solely for grave wrong-doing. He himself explained that the accusation was a false conclusion from the fact that several men whom he deprived for immorality had *also* been 'presented' (*i. e.* by their churchwardens) as not conforming; it was therefore popularly asserted that he had punished them because they had not observed his directions upon the conduct of the service. Similarly in the diocese of Norwich, out of 1500 clergy only between twenty and thirty were suspended by the bishop: yet Puritan agitation represented the bishops as cruelly ejecting a host of clergy.

The action of Laud and of the numerous bishops and clergy who followed him was always spoken of by the Puritans as "introducing innovations," while they ignored the counter-charge that the puritan alterations had been innovations upon the Prayer-book as sanctioned by Elizabeth and her first parliament. Both sides, therefore, could quote precedent, but each side selected a period or date which suited its own preference, as is usual when 'history' is appealed to in controversy.

It was unfortunate for the Church that Laud's energy and devotion to King Charles led him to take a part in the political government and so involved the religious problem still more closely with politics. His prominence in political history has caused his name to stand out as if he were singular and violent in his religious policy, which was not the case.

Laud was no doubt aware, as Bancroft had been, that even if Puritanism was strong among the gentry and certain of the manufacturing towns, many, perhaps the majority, of ordinary people outside London dreaded the expression of it in religion, as still further increasing the dominance of the rich over the poor, as well as depriving them of their holidays and amusements. Parishioners and churchwardens constantly 'presented' their parson (*i. e.* reported formally against him) for not celebrating the Sacraments properly, not wearing the appointed vestments or for disloyal or disrespectful language. The vicar of Ledbury, in denying the particular accusation brought against him, admitted that he did "let slip from him" in course of catechising, the words, "why might it not be as lawful to pull at a cart-rope as a bell-rope on Sunday?" the inference being, not that it was right to haul the cart, but that it was wrong to ring church-bells.

It may be remembered that a 'sin' of which John Bunyan so anxiously repented was his delight in ringing the church-bells; practising elaborate bell music was one of the popular pleasures which Puritanism stamped out.

The passage of two generations since Parker had permitted the Puritans to forget recent history, and in the time of Laud that consistent episcopal action and sacramental teaching which, under Parker, they had anathematised as *old rags of popery*, were

denounced with equal vigour as the *introduction of Innovations*. In vain did Convocation lay it down (*e. g.*) that the practice enjoined by the archbishop of reverently bowing towards the altar was decent and suitable but not necessary; the Puritans objected that to see anyone doing such an 'idolatrous' thing was unbearable. Their complaint was not that they were constrained, but that they had no power to constrain others—and particularly the bishops.

XXVI

PROGRESS OVERSEAS

(A) WEST

IN another sphere than that of religion a gradual modification of aim and feeling is discernible in the early seventeenth century. Men began to look towards the New World, not only as a gathering ground of gold and silver but as a possible home.

The first attempt to plant a colony in "Virginia," made by Sir Walter Raleigh as the queen's grantee, had failed in spite of his determined efforts. His settlers had only intended to stay long enough to make their fortunes, but the struggle with the Armada absorbed all the shipping so that no succour could reach the unlucky, but shiftless, emigrants, and the survivors were destroyed by the Indians.

In 1606 a fresh effort was made by a Company, some of its members being moved by the wish to provide new homes for the landless poor, some by the expectation that the forests of Virginia would furnish as good naval material as those of the Baltic, and others by the hope of obtaining other commercial products, especially tobacco. The plans drawn up by the *Virginia Company* provided amply for religion and education, and efforts were made not only to conciliate the natives, but to civilise and convert them. The first settlements were named after the king and the Prince of Wales, Jamestown and Henrico, and a college was already established at the latter place when an Indian attack wiped out the whole town of over 300 persons (1622). The warning of a Christian Indian saved Jamestown, but though the war between the colonists and the natives ended in victory for the white men, a mutual hatred and fear remained.

Unhappily the king of Spain regarded the little settlement as a menace to his monopoly of the gold countries, and Gondemar contrived to work the king, as well as several courtiers amenable to Spanish bribes, into a state of suspicion. James had bestowed a charter upon the Virginia Company and another on the Bermudas Company, but, said the Spanish ambassador, if those colonies were tolerated "my Master's Indies and his Mexico will shortly be visited both by sea and land by these planters." He pointed out that several of the directors had opposed the royal wishes in both Houses of Parliament. In Virginia they had ensured trial by jury and a representative assembly in which the colonists were to control their own

affairs, a most suspicious policy: "the Virginia Company is but a seminary to a seditious parliament." It was not difficult in so large a company to foment quarrels among both speculators and philanthropists; two parties formed, which petitioned the Crown against each other, and the king ordered an investigation, which Middlesex conducted with bias and much unfair intrigue. But the officers of the Company, especially Sir Edwin Sandys and Nicholas Ferrar, defended it with so much ability that Gondemar is said to have suggested that, to get rid of them, "a lie might be worth a good deal if it would hold water but a few hours." In the end, James suppressed both the Virginia and the Bermuda Company, but the colonists themselves were not interfered with, and if they missed the financial support and the increase of their numbers which the London companies might have furnished, they flourished quietly, Virginia finding a source of wealth in the cultivation of tobacco.

Tobacco had been introduced to the English in Elizabeth's reign and quickly became an established fashion. It was one of James' complaints against the Company, for he considered smoking a shocking practice and wrote a book against it. At one time he forbade the noxious weed to be imported from Virginia, a step which nearly ruined the colonists, although to tobacco from the Spanish islands he made no objection, being anxious not to offend the Spanish ambassador.

Another English colony was, a little later, planted on the American coast, named Maryland, after Queen Henrietta Maria (1632). It was intended as a home for Roman-catholics. The founder was George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a favoured minister of James I, to whom, as he had joined the Roman Church, Charles I proved less cordial. Baltimore had first planned a settlement in Newfoundland, which had been already colonised from Bristol in 1610, but finding the puritan fisher-folk as unfriendly as the climate, he removed to the mainland. Here, however, the Virginian colonists instantly confronted him with the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as if in England, for they could not imagine the American coast-land large enough to harbour communities of different creeds. Baltimore and his heirs, therefore, in the end obtained a patent for a separate colony. Toleration was not avowed in the grant, for Charles I was no favourer of his wife's religion, but the authority of the noble proprietors was sufficient to secure practical liberty for Anglican, Puritan and Romanist settlers alike. This is the first indication of a new policy among English Roman-catholics, that of seeking a universal religious tolerance. At this time it conflicted with the general principle of the one National Church as much as did the Brownist (or Independent) movement. Not till long afterwards did these two extreme wings of the religious parties find themselves embraced by a universal State tolerance.

Newfoundland was not the only puritan settlement in America.

The Virginia Company, though it had established ample provision for the English Church at Jamestown, had given permission to a party of English refugees in Holland to transfer themselves to the company's territory further north, where they might set up the theocratic community of their dreams, a colony in which the whole life of the settlement was to be directed by the authorities of their Church, and from which all who would not be obedient were to be expelled. Thus came about the now famous migration of the "Pilgrim Fathers." The accidents of storm, however, drove them beyond the boundaries of Virginia. They landed on the more inclement shores afterwards called New England and built (1620) their settlement of Plymouth on the confines of a Dutch colony which was then called New Holland. They were soon followed by another and larger band of Puritans, who founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay (1629) on a clear understanding that the king recognised the freedom of the colonists in religion—*i. e.* that neither English bishops nor Virginian governors and assemblies should interfere with them. Massachusetts had no company or proprietor in England and so was from the first totally independent. In consequence it was attractive to emigrants, and as just at this time various causes, mainly economic, led many energetic men to seek new homes, a stream of emigrants set out thither. In ten years 20,000 English people are said to have settled there. When, in 1642, this colony learnt of the civil war at home, it declined to give allegiance to either king or parliament but framed a confederation with Plymouth and other near neighbours for self-defence against the Indians, with the title of the *United Colonies of New England*. Very soon the severely religious system of the little puritan state, under which secular life was controlled theologically, much as in Geneva in Calvin's time, displeased many English settlers, so that overflow colonies were founded (Rhode Island and Connecticut, 1630–1640), where religion and governance were of a stamp less harsh.

The West India islands were also colonised from England under James I and Charles I. The motives of the original promoters were, as in the case of Virginia, chiefly commercial in the double-barrelled style of the age. That is to say, the wealthy men who formed the Providence Company and some other similar undertakings, intended to raise valuable produce and to raid Spanish settlements and ships. The profits of both branches of the business were expected to be so large as to make fortunes for the promoters (or *directors*) as well as a good living for the actual colonists.

The eventual scope of these colonies as homes for emigrants is apt to obscure the fact that, except in the North, they were not by any means founded by a popular movement of emigrants, but by rich men as speculations. The importation of dyewoods had proved very profitable to the English and French sea-rovers. Now the passion for tobacco, with which Spanish and Portuguese

merchants were supplying Europe, led English capitalists to seek to grow the plant for themselves in the Indies. Very soon they added sugar and cotton to the list. All that was necessary was to seize some suitable territory and find the labour.

These capitalists were not the old-fashioned merchants who traded with the Levant or the Baltic, but the more speculative adventurers created by the Elizabethan sea-war with Spain. Some were wealthy nobles—Lord Saye, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Southampton. Some were merchants of London or other ports, especially in the south-west, Bristol, Dartmouth, Barnstaple and Southampton. They were not very numerous, for they liked to keep their companies in their own hands. It is remarkable that family connection and friendship linked many of the principal promoters together, Southampton and Sandys stood rather outside the puritan circle, but the families of Fiennes (Lord Saye), Rich (earl of Warwick), Montague (earl of Manchester) and Barrington, the London alderman, were closely connected with Pym, Hampden, St. John and Cromwell. They regarded war with Elizabethan eyes as a legitimate gamble, and thought, too, that they deserved well of the State by offering new homes in fertile countries to poor men. James I and Charles I certainly seemed to agree with them and granted readily (especially the latter) the wide charters and privileges asked for. But the colonies which Warwick and Saye tried to plant on islands in the Gulf of Mexico (Old Providence) were failures. The climate, which the capitalists never would reckon with, proved as unfriendly as the Spaniards, and as the latter perfectly understood that the colonists intended to rob their settlements and to compete with their trade they naturally defended themselves by counter-attacks. They accused the English of piracy and the English accused them of persecution. James' treaty with Spain (1604) had so far failed that, as the Spanish government did not carry it out, legitimate commerce was nearly ruined, but clandestine trade made English fortunes and severely injured the Spanish exchequer.

A difference was observed at this time and for long after between piracy and privateering. Sailors might be given a licence by the Crown to make *private* war on the king's enemies, bearing themselves all the costs and risks and keeping any plunder. Licensing privateers did not necessarily commit sovereigns to making war. It was simply a practical threat which might bring an enemy to reason. Throughout the reign of Charles I, who was always more or less at war with Spain, it was popular with the speculative capitalists, and the earl of Warwick, with the express permission of the king, kept up a fleet of privateers and became very wealthy. This naval activity led to settlements on some of the islands. On the Bermudas, beautiful, uninhabited islands, a Virginian governor, Somers, had been wrecked in 1609, and this had led to their gradual settlement, at first under the auspices of a London company.

Two memories of the discovery of the Bermudas are enshrined imperishably in our literature, in *The Tempest* and in Marvell's lovely song, "Where the remote Bermudas ride." Here, as in Virginia, tobacco often served for money, but in the reign of Charles I the settlers were already building ships, and had created not only a prosperous agriculture, but a church and a parliament.

There was every intention of setting up in the West India colonies, as in Virginia, the same system of religious worship as in England, episcopal in form, puritan in temper, Warwick, Saye and the others being Puritans. But circumstances caused an absence of control from home and in the end the government and Church in the West Indies were founded on principles of freedom.

Despite Marvell's gibe at prelates, most of the Bermuda colonists were royalist in feeling and optimistically suggested to those of Barbados that they should form a league to oppose the usurpation of the Commonwealth. Barbados, St. Kitts, Antigua and Montserrat were all first colonised under James I and Charles I, and under the shelter of a general allegiance to the English Crown—or the Commonwealth—were to some degree protected, or protected themselves if they could, from Spanish aggression. They had to be left to govern themselves on such political, legal and religious principles as they could agree upon and carry out, and the Church, the laws, and the parliamentary system of their old home were by them adapted to their own needs on a footing of mutual tolerance.

This tolerance and freedom, however, was not to apply to every individual. The settlers in the islands and Virginia copied from the Portuguese and Spaniards the system of slavery. The hot climate and the labour required for tobacco, sugar and cotton crops, as well as the gentlemanly leisure they expected for themselves, led them to use both white and black bondservants. Like the ancient Greeks, they claimed liberty for themselves with the assumption that an inferior race was born to work for them. Originally the *servants* sent out by the commercial directors were poor men, who indented for so many years, like apprentices, and were to be given land and money afterwards. But they were much oppressed, and as the supply, therefore, was hard to recruit, white *bondsmen*, criminals or political offenders, were sent out, as slaves, instead. The harsh English laws had already decreed slavery as the penalty for certain offences, but no Englishmen at home would employ slaves, and therefore judges seldom if ever passed such a sentence. By the euphemism of "sending to the Plantations" convicted thieves and vagabonds the judges thought they were transferring a surplus population from a bad life to a useful one. The colonists, however, treated them as serfs, though with an inhumanity unknown to the Middle Ages, and were greedy for more because they died so fast. Therefore throughout the seventeenth century, royalist judges sent conventicle-frequenterers, and victorious parliamentary generals sent royalist prisoners, along with

other victims of intolerance, to this cruel slavery. One of the early founders of the Virginia Company, Alderman Ferrar (father of the celebrated Nicholas), had charitably sent out to Virginia a good many foundling children from London, on the understanding that they should be adopted in colonist families; after his death numbers of pauper children were simply exiled to America as slaves.

Negro slavery was stimulated by the commercial greed of the London, Bristol and Liverpool merchants, who continued that African slave trade which had been begun by the Portuguese and was introduced to Englishmen by John Hawkins. In some ways the negroes obtained kinder treatment than did the white slaves, but it was for a long while forbidden to convert them to Christianity, lest the law should then grant them some legal rights as against their owners. Englishmen in the seventeenth century were repeating the methods used by Germans to the Slavs in the thirteenth.

Very different from the settlement of Virginia, New England and the West India Islands was the enterprise attempted by Raleigh in Guiana (1616). That great adventurer's long imprisonment brought him to grasp at any excuse for escape from the Tower. James' momentary zeal for the Protestant cause and the emptiness of his exchequer after the "Addled Parliament"¹ brought him to lend an ear to Raleigh's assertion that he knew of a goldmine far up the Orinoco river, beyond the bounds of the Spanish dominions. Raleigh pledged himself not to attack any Spanish settlement if only he might go to South America, and he was released to do so as a prisoner on parole. The whole affair was, of course, made known to Gondemar, and when the English expedition reached Guiana it was dogged by an English spy in Spanish pay, one Stukely, an old traitor to Queen Elizabeth, and the adventurers found a Spanish town now built where Raleigh had imagined he might hit upon an uninhabited golden land. The inevitable fight took place, and the beaten survivors of the adventure made their way back to England, where, at the Spanish ambassador's urging, Raleigh was at length executed on the scaffold (1618). The brutality of Chief Justice Coke had wrested the original trial to its unjust conclusion: the time-serving timidity of Bacon was exhibited on the later occasion, and so the last great Elizabethan was brought to his cruel fate by the practical treachery of two famous men to that ideal of Liberty to which they consecrated their intellectual labours.

(B) EAST

Into the tropical Eastern world Englishmen were slowly pushing their way, under Elizabeth and James I, not to dwell but to trade. When, in 1600, Elizabeth gave a charter and a monopoly of Indian

¹ See below, p. 246.

trade to the "Association for Trading with India," an epoch of organised commerce began. Fleets went out, laden with English wares, to the eastern Spice Islands (Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas in the S. China Sea) and then to the coasts of Persia and India.

The Spice Islands were principally under the control of the Dutch. On the Persian coast, Ormuz, and on the Indian, Goa, were the capitals of the Portuguese and their trade, and both nations were extremely exclusive. The Portuguese, as subjects of the king of Spain, were obvious foes, and the Dutch, though they wanted English aid in Europe, conducted their Eastern commerce without any regard for diplomatic or religious amity.

A little English settlement or "factory" existed at Bantam, in Java, but was constantly hampered by the Dutch. On the other hand, the natives were glad to welcome the English as rivals to the oppressive Hollanders.

The East India Company, as it was called, had just taken Ormuz from the Portuguese, and established a factory at Gambrun (1622), when the Dutch set upon their station at Amboyna, one of the Moluccas, an island about twice as large as the Isle of Wight, and slew and tortured all the English and many of their native friends.

In face of the great Dutch superiority at sea the company could not hope to maintain itself in the Spice Islands, so it turned its enterprise to the Indian mainland.

The English beat the Portuguese out of Surat (1630), and ten years later obtained permission from the Rajah of the Carnatic to build "Fort St. George" at Madras, which became the cradle of the English Indian trade.

The East India Company did not develop very rapidly, partly on account of the large proportion of its gains which had to be spent upon working expenses, such as fortifications, munitions and powerful ships, or on gifts to rajahs and the Mogul, or to the English king and influential courtiers. It had, moreover, many enemies among merchants at home, some of whom attacked it on the principles of political economy, as at that time understood, because it paid money out overseas and therefore depleted the wealth of this country. Others agitated against its monopoly, being unwilling to join it and take their share of expenses and risks, but quite ready to send private ships to the Company's harbours and trade under the shelter of its good credit with the natives. The Company was obliged sometimes to go to law against such "Interlopers," and so became all the more unpopular with its self-interested critics.

XXVII

PREROGATIVE AND PARLIAMENT (I)

JAMES I (1603-1625)

WHETHER the constitution of England might not have been modernised without civil war is an interesting speculation. History tells of several popular movements which have developed with the certainty of a natural growth, and among them seems to be the impulse of the English people towards self-government, which made its most rapid and remarkable achievements in the seventeenth century.

At the beginning of that period neither the extent of the royal authority nor the proper sphere of parliament had become defined. Both could not continue to increase, and which was to give way had to be decided in some manner.

As usual in England, practical difficulties produced the first examination into principles, and the most urgent of these difficulties was the provision of enough money to meet the charges of government. Elizabeth, with all her economy, her Spanish prizes, her ecclesiastical pillage, her licences and monopolies, and her excellent financial assistants, had but just contrived to make both ends of the national resources meet. James, with a wife and children, and faced by continually increasing national expenses, could not have kept within the Elizabethan revenue, even had he been economical and skilful. Being by nature a spendthrift, incapable of saying "No," he was speedily in debt. He was so well aware of his own weakness that he even had the Crown lands entailed, to secure them to his son, yet he incessantly squandered money on favourites and in foolish waste.

Among the resources of Elizabeth had been two which James I thought he could expand: (a) the occasional increase of duties upon imports, called *Impositions*, and (b) the grant or sale to individuals of *Patents*, or a "monopoly" right to make or sell some article. Neither of these was a recognised part of the royal revenue.

(a) *Impositions*, or increased rates, had frequently been placed upon foreign goods by the Council, but either as a measure of foreign policy or else to give some protection to an English manufacture.

(b) Monopolies (or patents) had been granted by the Crown to

inventors of new processes, to persons engaged in establishing a new industry, or to some enterprising man who would undertake to work a Crown business better—especially mines. It was largely by means of these two methods that so many new industries had been set up in this country under Elizabeth.

But after Burleigh's death monopolies came to be used less wisely. People saw that to have a Crown grant to farm tin or copper mines was profitable; they were ready to pay well to have a similar grant for farming other Crown businesses—granting licences, inspecting infringements of Crown rights, or making some of the products which were only allowed by special permission, such as gunpowder, gold thread, or dice. The government did not at once see why the good prices offered for such a privilege should not be accepted, and Elizabeth's exchequer benefited largely till the cry arose that the monopolists were raising prices exorbitantly.

Elizabeth's concessions in 1601 had lulled the parliamentary storm, but her successor revived it by granting to his favourites monopolies of all kinds of goods. He also increased the impositions, or import duties, on a great scale, his aim being to obtain revenue. But this parliament held to be in itself improper, the revenue being the peculiar concern of the House of Commons, and the Crown, therefore, entitled to no permanent income save from (a) feudal rights and Crown lands, mines and forests, and (b) the regular customs as voted by the Commons. But the old Crown property and feudal profits were now diminishing towards a vanishing point.

There were, however, no laws upon the subject of patents, embargoes, or privileges, and the legal view, therefore, was the somewhat vague one that, while all accustomed privileges were lawful, new restrictions or privileges as to commerce were justifiable if they were for the public good, but void if against it. But who was to judge of the Public Good?

The law-courts, however, would try any single suit brought by a merchant who considered the public to be injured in his own person, and in this way the law as to that particular case would be stated. Several merchants did call in question the royal right to grant a monopoly or to levy some special duty. The most famous was *Bate's case*, in which Chief Justice Coke decided that the Crown was entitled to levy the particular duty in question (on currants). Hereupon James caused a fresh scale to be drawn up, raising the duties upon a number of articles, but this *Book of Rates* was then challenged in the Commons as an infringement of their right of self-taxation.

Nor did the financial question stand alone, for the House was restive also at James' frequent use of royal proclamations to impose his personal commands, and at the extensive jurisdiction exercised by the High Commission Court. Puritan sentiment, discouraged by the king and the bishops, was strongly represented in the House of Commons, which began afresh to try to influence religious

policy and to interfere in Church questions. To the king, his own resort to proclamations and to the Commission Court appeared to be a reasonable use of that general superior authority which must lie somewhere in every government and which he termed his *Prerogative* right.

James I was disarmed for a contest over principles with his parliament by his great need of money as well as by the large political schemes which he entertained and endeavoured to commend to parliament. He hoped to see his two kingdoms of England and Scotland united into one "Great Britain," and to see all religious parties harmonised into one Christian Church. Such ideals were, however, in advance of public opinion and enticed James away from smaller but practicable improvements. Salisbury (Cecil) might have overcome the financial difficulty, had it been isolated. He introduced, in 1610, a sensible scheme, known as the *Great Contract*, whereby the Crown should resign its old-fashioned feudal claims, irksome to so many individuals, as well as the monopolies, and parliament should assign a fair equivalent in money. But the Commons held that such a grant on their part deserved concessions from the king upon other questions, and to this James would not condescend, so the bargain fell through. Salisbury died, and James further alienated public opinion by selling honours, and especially by devising a new order of hereditary knights called baronets, this rank being conferred upon rich gentlemen who contributed to the defence and settlement of Ulster or of Nova Scotia. The peers as well as the poorer gentry resented the new honours of others.

When, in 1614, Bacon induced the king to call a second parliament, James tried to secure more tractable members by managing the elections through 'undertakers,' or agents. The attempt failed, and the Commons were the more antagonistic, and refused to vote any supply at all till the *impositions* should be withdrawn, whereupon the parliament was dissolved, without having passed any vote or law. This was nicknamed the *Addled* parliament. For six years James contrived to raise benevolences, to sell privileges and honours, and to levy fines from wealthy offenders by means of the Star Chamber. Then the anxieties of his foreign policy and the plan for the marriage of Prince Charles drove him to summon a third parliament in 1621.

As it was both the principle and practice of England that, when once laws had been made, their detailed application should be determined, not by royal command or parliamentary vote, but by the decisions of the judges in lawsuits, it followed that the view of the lawyers and judges was extremely important in the contest now opening between Crown and parliament.

Chief Justice Coke had joined the popular party in the debates of 1610. He was a violent and egotistic man, fiercely jealous of his fellow-lawyers, Bacon and Ellesmere, and biased by a desire

to magnify the Court of Common Law (his own) against the Court of Chancery (Bacon's). His distinguished career under Elizabeth, his profound learning, and his constant support of popular views caused great weight to be attached to his dictum that "the king has no prerogative but what the Law allows him." The judicial view had hitherto been that the prerogative of the Crown included all and any powers of government which had not been definitely limited or withdrawn from it by some law, and this has become the accepted principle of later times. James I had, as usual, taken foolish pains to make his own views of his prerogative known, and had crystallised them into definite terms. He was gratified by the suggestion of Bacon that the Crown possessed, besides its ordinary governing powers, which might be defined and limited by laws and come in legal discussion, therefore, in law-courts, an extraordinary, undefinable supremacy, beyond the scope of any law, inhering in kingship, to be used for the benefit of the people and in emergencies. Its particular province was foreign policy. This superior prerogative James considered a divinely conferred authority, hardly to be questioned without sacrilege. Unfortunately James was for ever discovering emergencies in the ordinary course of government, while it had become clear that if foreign policy covered the imposition of duties and expenditure upon fleets, munitions, etc., it trenchanted upon that financial sphere which was the peculiar and ancient province of parliament.

James often had the prudence to consult the principal judges before taking action, being really desirous of understanding and observing the laws of his new kingdom, but after 1610 he believed that Coke influenced his colleagues in opposing the royal wishes. The king certainly became more arbitrary and Coke more vehement, whether in the law-courts or in parliament. He had for some years energetically resisted the claims of the High Commission Court to be an independent law-court, and even disputed the royal power to bestow a licence on a bishop to hold a living *in commendam* (in addition to his see), all of which much displeased the king, and in 1616, during a murder trial which revealed terrible scandals at court (Sir Thomas Overbury's murder) Coke had used language which seemed to reflect not only on the king's favourites but on himself. Moved by both personal and political reasons, James took the unusual step of dismissing him. The removal of the Chief Justice caused some sensation, because judges had always held office for life, "*quamdiu se bene gesserint*" (while of right conduct), but in this, as in so many matters, James could not be said to have acted outside his powers. It was not that in any particular step the king acted illegally, but that, as a whole, his method of government was of a character which parliament by and by would call "*unconstitutional*," and which the mass of James' subjects contrasted unfavourably with the traditions of Tudor rule. He, and his son after him, tried to govern the people for the good of the

people, but too often contrary to the wishes and sentiment of the people.

For a short time Sir Francis Bacon was the principal figure in the government (1617-1621), first as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, then as Lord Chancellor. He and Coke had long been at enmity, partly over a profound legal controversy. There were, and long had been, two different systems of law used in England, those of the Common Law and of the Chancery (or *equity*). It was possible for the Lord Chancellor to deal with some kinds of suits by less technical methods, and Bacon endeavoured to extend the scope of *equity*. He was, also, inclined to give some scope to the royal use of prerogative, and opposed Coke on this great subject. There must be some Power with undefined limits to deal with emergencies and, in accordance with Tudor and all earlier history, Bacon saw this Power in the Crown. For four years, with Bacon's help, James contrived to rule without a parliament, but he was not capable of understanding, or, at all events, of sticking to, Bacon's statesmanlike policy.

Bacon's idea of a frank partnership between sovereign and parliament, of a prerogative exerted (like Elizabeth's) only with the general consent, was never attained, and Coke soon found an opportunity for ruining his rival. The parliament of 1621, realising that he had really helped the king to rule alone, avenged itself by accusing Bacon of having accepted bribes, though it was then—and had for hundreds of years been—the custom to offer presents to the Chancellor. No one dared to accuse him of having been swayed in any decision by such gifts, but he was *impeached* upon the charge, and was found guilty, partly because Buckingham, on whom had fallen much of the odium of the monopolies, saw a way of avoiding further unpopularity by helping to pass on parliamentary vengeance, by way of impeachment, to the Chancellor and to a merchant monopolist named Mompesson.

This, James' third parliament, not only revived the old parliamentary trial of *Impeachment* (trial before the House of Lords upon accusation by the House of Commons), but drew up a protest to the king, expressly claiming the right to discuss all public questions, "the State, the Defence of the Realm, the Church, the laws, and grievances," and stating also as a fact the immunity of members from imprisonment, or any punishment, for what they had spoken in parliament.

This was a challenge to the king, who had told them that their right of discussion was limited to those matters on which he requested their opinion (in 'the King's Speech') and it was hardly historically accurate, since members had occasionally been punished for their speeches by the sovereigns or regents from Edward III to Elizabeth, but it was no more than the parliament and people thought ought to be true, and therefore held to be in fact true, and parliaments, in spite of royal punishments, had steadily claimed

full rights of speech, which their power of the purse had usually enabled them to exercise.

James exercised his prerogative by dissolving the parliament and sending to prison five leading members of the Commons, including Coke, Selden and John Pym, a young lawyer who was a protégé of the earl of Bedford, the head of the wealthy and powerful family of Russell and a principal leader of the opposition to the Crown in the House of Lords.

The fourth parliament of James I met in 1624, when Buckingham's demand for war with Spain suddenly brought the minister and the people into a brief agreement. But before voting supplies for war the Commons seized the opportunity to declare that monopolies were illegal. This marks the beginning of a new custom in the House of Commons, whereby a parliamentary opinion was registered by a vote and given almost as much force of law as if it were a judicial decision. The Commons simply drew up and passed a *Resolution of the House* declaring such or such a case to be the fact, instead of passing a bill through all its stages, and thus avoided the concurrence of the Lords or the Crown and set itself above them and the law-courts. The device was continually resorted to in the seventeenth century, but became discredited after 1688.

Not content with thus securing a legal victory over Crown and judges together, the House, led by Coke, proceeded to punish the king's principal minister, Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, for having granted monopolies and accepted bribes. Middlesex was the chief exponent of the king's pro-Spanish policy, and from having been a protégé of Buckingham, had now become an obstacle to his sole control of power. Buckingham therefore pressed on the impeachment in spite of the old king's shrewd warning that he was preparing a rod for his own back: "You will live to have your bellyful of impeachments," he said. Middlesex was declared guilty. He was a less happy Whittington, an industrious apprentice who had won his master's confidence and married his daughter, adventured successfully in foreign trade and became a London citizen so notable for wealth and wisdom that noblemen introduced him to the royal service. He had done excellent service to both king and country by reforming, amid immense difficulties, the royal household expenses, and his trial was conducted by the Lords with a harsh unfairness which caused dismayed comment upon both the verdict and the extravagant penalties imposed. It is characteristic of the famous trials of this reign (those of Raleigh, Bacon and Middlesex) that legal charges were used in order to bring about political results and that bitter vindictiveness was shown. The first steps were, in fact, being taken during James' reign towards the formation of an *Opposition party* in parliament: ministers were treated, not according to their actual merits, but according to their political unpopularity. The

minister who thwarted the policy of the majority in parliament was to be ruined, it did not matter much upon what grounds.

As in earlier ages when a political crisis was tending to an explosion (Richard II, Henry VI), so now there existed several feuds, or rivalries, which might be combined with the political opposition to the Crown, so as to engineer a formidable coalition.

(1) The religious problem has been already described, the struggle between the episcopal (sacramental, or mystical) school and the puritan (or literal and dogmatic) school. With this combined the feud between ecclesiastical law (the episcopal courts) and secular law (the ordinary law-courts and the Temple and other London Inns of Court). This explains the strong support given by the judges and lawyers to the puritan party: Coke, Selden, Pym and St. John were lawyers first, Puritans afterwards.

(2) There were rival interests in the City of London. Over the East India Company, the Virginia Company, the question of Monopolies (which included patents and licences) and other less notorious questions and companies, two parties, in each case, were struggling. These different sides, or parties, can only be very roughly described as consisting more or less of merchants who represented the old-established partners (or capitalists, or directors) and those who wanted to share, or to break down, the "monopoly," or vested interest as it would now be called. There was great commercial prosperity and enterprise at this time, the year 1615 being the high-water mark: "Money everywhere but in the exchequer," says a merchant. In some years the East India Company paid profits up to 200 or 234 per cent., and the Russia Company paid 90 per cent. On the other hand, the Virginia Company and the Providence Company could seldom make any dividends, and some exporting *Adventurers* failed disastrously.

The reason why these purely commercial affairs affected political movements was, (a) the close connection between trade and foreign policy. The question whether Spain was to be treated as an enemy or a friend gave the companies a strong motive for trying to influence ministers and the court, one party desiring legitimate trade, the other, smuggling and privateering; (b) the financial necessities of the government. The Book of Rates, monopolies and similar matters often brought the king or his ministers into conflict with commercial interests. (c) Moreover, all chartered companies—particularly the East India Company—depended greatly upon the support of the Crown in diplomacy with foreign potentates.

For these, and some other similar reasons, companies and capitalists found themselves deeply interested in buying court favour or, perhaps, in the intrigues between rival noblemen, each of whom carried with him, to favour or to ruin, the commercial men who helped him with loans or rewarded him with dividends. It was the fierce quarrels within the Virginia Company which had brought

about its suppression, but the City put all the blame on the Crown and the ministers.

(3) The personal rivalries of great or ambitious families cannot here be described, but it is necessary to remember that they had considerable influence. Even in Elizabeth's time Burleigh and Walsingham, both devoted to the service of their queen and their country, had held such different views upon the right course of action that they had at times intrigued against each other with court favourites in order to influence the queen; Raleigh and Essex had been patrons, the former of Puritans, the later of Romanists, and the finale was an attempt at rebellion. The men who intrigued at the court of James I and Charles I were neither so wise nor so patriotic as Elizabeth's ministers, and were more unscrupulous as to the means they used. The family quarrel between the Riches and Blounts and their adherents embittered many disputes, as, in Yorkshire, did the rivalry of the Eures and Wentworths.

XXVIII

PREROGATIVE AND PARLIAMENT (II) (1625-1639)

CHARLES I (1625-1649)

ON the accession of the new king (March 1625) the crisis which had been persistently gathering since 1600 worked rapidly to a head. The principal factors of the crisis were, firstly, some primitive problems inherent in all types of government,—(1) the difficulty of the sovereign in finding ministers both loyal and efficient, (2) the claim of the intelligent and prosperous classes to conduct the government instead of the royal nominees,—and, secondly, new problems which ever grew worse and are not solved to-day,—(3) the complication of the government's finance with ordinary commerce, and (4) intense rivalry among religious parties, each of which claimed to control the worship and education of the whole people—tolerance being as yet practically unknown. These religious factions lent bitterness to family rivalries and to local jealousies.

The coming struggle was inevitable. To take these four main factors of trouble summarily—

(1) and (2):—The Tudors, from the accession of Henry VII till the death of Burleigh (1598), had secured both loyal and efficient ministers. James I had loyal servants, but after Salisbury's death (1612) hardly efficient ones. His way of baffling the ambition of the magnates to govern had been by the fatal method of purchase. He lavished posts and pensions on nobles who did not always render even respectful deference to his commands and whose neglect of their nominal duties produced a dire degradation in the public services which, by the accession of Charles I, were neither efficient nor honest.

(3) James I had precipitated the finance of the government into a chaos out of which it did not emerge till 1689.

(4) The violence of religious fanaticism mingled with the ambitions of the great families to produce rebellions. Under the Tudors these had been regional: the North or the West against London, as the seat of government, and the Crown had steadily conciliated or controlled London, together with the south-east and eastern counties. Now there were factions in every town and county.

On the surface, Charles' accession did not appear to alter political conditions. The new policy of war on Spain, accepted with so much enthusiasm, was still combined with a French alliance, as to which feeling was not decided, and was conducted by the same



CHARLES I

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY VANDYCK IN THE DRESDEN GALLERY

Facing p. 253

minister, Buckingham, who had the same irresistible influence on Charles as on James.

Personally, Charles I presented a striking contrast to his father. Good-looking and attractive in demeanour, and physically active as well as abstemious, he was diffident of his own powers, slow of speech and still slower in making up his mind. But once fixed in an opinion he was immovable, and his few personal attachments were so strong that it was impossible for him to pay attention to anything which might conflict with them, or to tolerate any criticism of the few individuals in whom he believed. He seemed born, said an acute observer, to put himself into the hands of one man. Charles believed entirely his father's precepts on the prerogative inherent in kings, and uncompromisingly acted on them, as James had not always done. He believed entirely in the teaching of the Church, to which he was intensely attached, and he was in his private life pure, strict and devout. For three years, until Buckingham's violent death, he believed as firmly in his friend's wisdom and capacities and made him virtually king of England.

The court had become dignified and quiet. Charles' pleasure lay in books and pictures, rather than in drinking bouts and costly pageantry. He formed a collection of rare pictures and brought the great painter Vandyke to England to paint portraits of the royal family. The court imitated the king, and many fine pictures still remain to show to modern eyes the great men of that time. Charles' attachment to the Church was a motive even stronger than his resentment against Spain in determining his early action upon the vexed question of the recusants (or Romanists who would not attend their parish church). He discouraged them severely. When he heard an Irish lord talking loudly in the next room while Prayers were being read, he sent him a message to come in. "The king knows I do not go to his prayers," said the courtier. "If he will not come to my prayers, let him leave my house," returned the king. Nevertheless the recusants in general were allowed to *compound* or pay regular fines in lieu of the excessive penalties which could legally be exacted from them under Elizabeth's Act of 1593, because this was the concession required by the French ministry for an alliance against Spain.

Buckingham had gone to France to fetch the princess Henrietta Maria, and the marriage, arranged by James I, was solemnised as soon as possible. A parliament was called immediately, and Charles on opening the session desired its support in the war just begun. But, probably from ignorance, he had not directed any minister to make the usual statement of policy and liabilities. He had instantly dismissed his father's astute counsellor, Bishop Williams, a prelate whose shrewd worldliness was repugnant to both Charles and Laud, and there were no other competent ministers. Those who could work smoothly with Buckingham were hardly likely to be more than mere routine men.

The Commons had assembled in no mood to make allowance for mistakes. The zeal of the gentry and nobles for war had already yielded to their deeper-seated ambition to control government without being taxed, and their hatred of Roman-catholicism abroad was milder than their hatred of it at home. They had, in fact, discovered under James' vacillating policy how to fight Spain by commercial and piratical methods which were certainly far more profitable and less burdensome than open war. Parliament met, therefore, intent on seizing the opportunity for reasserting that parliamentary control of the national revenue of which James, by his Impositions, had practically deprived them. At the same time, they meant to obtain a real control over the royal appointment of ministers: a claim often made in the past but never yet granted. The methods used were not likely to convince the new king of the good intentions of the Houses.

As often was the case throughout the struggle now opening, the Commons rested their argument upon small or technical grounds and couched it in terms admonitory and even carping.¹ They professed to be aggrieved that they had not been so far confided in as to be told what enemy was to be attacked.² They proposed to make a treaty with the king and to obtain their own religious programme and the relinquishment of "Impositions" before voting a revenue. They provided in the meantime the little sum of two subsidies, as a more direct challenge, and voted the permanent customs (tonnage and poundage) for one year only, in place of the usual vote for a king's life. Charles, in amazement, adjourned parliament to a second session and, too late, directed a minister to explain the military necessity.

But proof had already appeared of Buckingham's incompetence. He had not thought of tying the French minister, Richelieu, to a strict undertaking, and a squadron of ships which the king lent to France, intended for the Spanish war, were being used by Richelieu for the very different purpose of blockading the Huguenot port of La Rochelle, which had rebelled against the French government. This alienated English sympathy at once, and the suspicious Commons chose to believe that Buckingham had been aware of Richelieu's intention. It was perhaps difficult to credit him with such childish carelessness. His mother and wife were among those Roman converts whose numbers and eminence, ever since James I had relaxed the penal laws, had been a source of alarm to Church and Parliament. It was characteristic of the puritan party in the Commons that members spoke as if it were a known fact that the bishops themselves were assisting this Romanist reaction.

When, therefore, parliament reassembled (at Oxford, on account of the plague), it was furious at the misuse of the fleet and at the dire failure of a military expedition already sent by Buckingham

¹ Cf. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents, etc.*, Pt. I. 1.

² "We know of no war and no enemy," said Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

to Holland to help the Protestants in Germany. The unfortunate troops were provided with neither pay nor supplies, and being hastily packed over the frontier in open boats by the Dutch, they succumbed to starvation and disease. Yet the man from whose incapacity such a disaster had resulted was to direct the war.

The Commons, therefore, refused to grant money unless the king would choose counsellors in whom they felt confidence, and at the same moment they ordered to appear before them for judgment a clergyman who had written a book against Rome, containing some statements upon the doctrines held by the English Church to which the leaders of the Commons objected. Charles refused to accept the small vote of money proffered, and resented the boldness of the attack on Buckingham. It was nearly two centuries since a parliament had challenged the royal choice of a minister, and taken with the startling refusal to vote tonnage and poundage, this might well be regarded as a revolutionary act of defiance. The summons of the clergyman, Montagu, to come before the House, as if it were a law-court, to be punished for a book he had written, was an intrusion at once into the sphere of the Church and the Law, and an intrusion which the Commons had attempted before. But, as the quickest way of protecting Montagu, Charles made him a royal chaplain and informed the House that it could now have no jurisdiction over him. The members, nevertheless, persisted, and parliament was dissolved.

Buckingham was always only too ready to act without parliament, and he rushed down the usual path of inexperienced politicians. If he could please the nation by acquiring glory and booty by a sudden military and naval stroke he and the king would be able to obtain parliamentary approval afterwards.

From Buckingham's first entry into politics (1616) he had tried to obtain attention for the fleet but had not been very successful. James' highly paid, incompetent nobles (*e.g.* the aged earl of Nottingham and the decrepit Zouch) had left ships and men to dishonest deputies and officials. The best ships and officers were usually detailed for special services and the practical men were never placed at headquarters.

Too inexperienced to find out the actual condition of things, Buckingham believed that the large fleet which, by taking forced loans, Charles I was able to assemble (1625) represented a formidable striking force. He directed it to Cadiz, under Sir Edward Cecil.

But so shamefully corrupt had the entire navy system become under James I that this imposing-looking fleet was actually rotten. New ships but three years old were in danger of falling to pieces in the water. 'New' ropes proved to be old ones tarred over, 'new' sails were shoddy. Food and drink were equally bad, and disease broke out.

Unfortunately few of the officers, either of army or navy, were fitted to lead a forlorn hope, for Buckingham's captains and generals

were selected on the lines of favouritism; the men were unpaid, for some of the officers had embezzled the funds; discipline was not kept, for many of the officers were novices; the troops who were landed were left without food and allowed to pillage some wine stores, and while they were helpless with drink the fleet lay idle, having no orders. It was wonderful that any of the crazy ships staggered home at last with the discredited, infuriated remnants of the army.

Nevertheless Buckingham was not afraid to face another parliament (1626), and the king took pains to keep out of it certain leading members by making them sheriffs. This proved a futile expedient, for Sir John Eliot, an early protégé of Buckingham, who had procured his election to parliament, led the House in impeaching him. Charles had Eliot and his seconder, Sir Dudley Digges, arrested, but the House refused to do business without them, and the king had to release them; it was useless for him to attempt to use Elizabeth's high-handed manner, and the incident simply showed that the Crown and the Parliament regarded each other as opponents, a dire predicament.

After the dissolution of this parliament, Buckingham again attempted a military gamble, this time against the French government, and sold his rich private property to fit out a fresh fleet. The king was at least as indignant as parliament at the sly use made by Richelieu of English ships against Rochelle, but he attributed the blame wholly to French perfidy. Richelieu's plea was that he could not join in war against Spain and the Empire while rebellion reigned at home, but must first end the Huguenot pretensions to independence. Charles I, like parliament, could see in this only a persecution of Protestants, and he was so angry that he refused to extend further protection to English Roman-catholics, dismissed all his queen's French attendants, and finally declared war on France.

At another time this might have procured him popularity, a sentiment Charles always disregarded, but public attention was at this moment fixed less on royal policy than on the exaction of forced loans. A good many gentlemen refused to pay, and five, in consequence, were imprisoned. A case was tried (*Darnell's case*) and the judges pronounced that the Crown had power to levy such a loan, for an emergency. The king, encouraged, now began to use measures which amounted to compulsion. Soldiers were, as usual in those days, *pressed* (compulsorily enlisted), and their officers were commissioned to use martial law to keep them in the ranks. Secondly, the soldiers, mostly men of a rough, low class, were *billeted* upon gentlemen who avoided paying the loans, and were allowed to do much as they liked. This was a clever piece of petty tyranny, but was not contrary to any law, the Crown being always the sole acknowledged authority in military and naval matters.

The expedition to succour Rochelle was a failure, like all Buckingham's showy undertakings, by reason of inefficient control. He

took command himself and intended to seize the Isle of Rhé as a base and then break Richelieu's blockade of the city. But one fort on the isle persistently held out; the duke, who was ignorant of warfare, wasted his forces against it, and then came home for more men and supplies, but could not collect them. The king was pledged, not only to save Rochelle, which was holding out against the French government, relying on the English, but to pay large sums to Christian IV of Denmark and the Protestant German army, and they were all pressing for the aid so long overdue.

In order to obtain the money a third parliament was called, in 1628, and it met determined to throw the whole blame of the unsuccessful war and blundering foreign policy, the extortionate loans and martial tyranny, upon Buckingham, and to drive him from power. As with medieval attacks on ministers, or favourites, no kind of measure was kept in speech. Eliot, who was now among the principal leaders of the House of Commons, and a well-known figure in London society,¹ was a Cornishman of fanatical enthusiasms. He was inspired by a patriotic love of his country, but he was positive (somewhat like Burke in a later age) that parliament was a perfect machine of government, entitled by some kind of inherent right to every authority. He was equally positive that Buckingham made war only to fill his pockets with the admiral's share of prize-money and that he was the wickedest of men; he called him a Sejanus. "If he is Sejanus, I must be Tiberius," commented Charles, whose abhorrence of the violent speaker grew the stronger.

The Commons began, however, not with Buckingham's impeachment, but with a new law to prevent the repetition of the recent arbitrary proceedings of the king. Over this a group of men as brilliant as have ever united in the House were agreed. Of the lawyers, there were old Sir Edward Coke, the persecutor of Raleigh and Bacon, young John Pym, building up a lawyer's practice among the London capitalists, and the learned Selden, who had just written a book on sea law for the king. There was the Yorkshire magnate, Sir Thomas Wentworth, the Buckinghamshire magnate, John Hampden, the fanatical Cornishman, Eliot, the amiable Somerset member, Hyde. But during the debate it might be seen that there were two parties: the more thoughtful, who wished to limit the scope of the prerogative, so as to prevent its use as a means of compulsion, though without denying that a prerogative power did exist, and the enthusiasts, who wanted to destroy and deny all royal prerogative because the king had misused it.

Wentworth, who despised Buckingham, detested war and longed to see men of capacity working out the practical reforms for lack of which the country was falling into confusion, was of the former section, but Eliot carried the majority with him in fierce denunciation of the king's action, which he called an attack upon all liberty,

¹ He was among the many suitors of a notable wealthy widow.

and of Buckingham, whom he described as a public enemy designing the ruin of the nation. He induced the House to set aside the usual procedure of a new law for something quicker, in the form of a Petition which the king should be asked to accept or reject, since this required only once reading.¹ The *Petition of Right* (1628) was therefore drawn up in a form which asserted that what had lately been done was contrary to the laws of the land—an assertion much easier to make than to prove—so that the king's acceptance of the Petition would imply that he owned himself to have broken the laws, a point about which Charles was always anxious to be correct. The Petition declared (1) that to take any gifts, loans, benevolences or taxes without consent of parliament was illegal; (2) that no free man was to be imprisoned without the cause being shown; (3) that compulsory billeting of soldiers on private persons, and the use of martial law in time of peace, were illegal.

Charles, who saw that he must obtain a grant of money, tried to give consent in words suggested by the House of Lords, which desired to save the supreme prerogative—"saving the sovereign power." But then the Peers, afraid of a breach with the lower House, joined the Commons in requesting a more precise answer. The king understood, from the judges, that his assent to the Petition would not affect his supreme prerogative, and his final reply was in the terms used to give royal assent to a law—"Soit droit fait comme il est désiré." Outside, crowds were waiting to learn the upshot. The triumphant shouts in the House were echoed from street to street, the bells of the City churches rang and bonfires were lighted.

The *Petition of Right* is often described as second only to *Magna Carta*, because "it circumscribed the monarchy of Henry VIII and Elizabeth as *Magna Carta* circumscribed the monarchy of Henry II." The supreme authority, as exercised by the Tudor sovereigns, was now gone, but where, then, lay supremacy?

The Commons, having voted five subsidies, now prepared to turn upon Buckingham, concerning whom Eliot had already contrived to make a speech so violent that the Speaker checked him. Popular feeling was shown in a saying bandied about: "Who rules the kingdom? the king: who rules the king? the duke: who rules the duke? the devil: let the duke look to it." And the branding of him in the Commons as a public enemy fired the mind of an unhappy officer, who attributed his misfortunes to Buckingham, with the thought that to rid the nation of its traitor minister would be a right and noble deed.

An adjournment now occurred, and while the subsidies were being collected, the royal customs officers continued to collect the usual duties, and Buckingham to fit out a fresh expedition for

¹ A *Petition of Right* was a legal term for a particular form of proceeding in which a lawyer petitioned a judge for a writ, which the judge had no power to refuse.

Rochelle. From Portsmouth, where he was personally superintending the preparations, came suddenly the news that Lieutenant Felton had murdered him, and the murderer justified his act by the invective spoken by Eliot. The duke's death paralysed the maritime preparations and deprived Rochelle of any hope of succour, and that city, now in the extremity of famine, surrendered. The Commons had, however, no attention to spare for foreign Protestants, but were absorbed in the question of the customs duties, which were being collected as usual. That tonnage and poundage had not been mentioned in the Petition of Right was, if accidental, an extraordinary oversight, but the leaders in the Commons made a remonstrance against the royal exaction of the duties, as if this had been implied by the Petition. The judges, however, gave their legal opinion that customs duties were not technically included under the word 'tax,' which was undoubtedly true according to the language and habits of all parliaments and governments since Edward I. Whereupon Eliot wildly cried out that the Judges, the Council, the Sheriffs, the Attorney, and all, "conspire to trample on the liberty of the subject."

At the same time the episcopal and royal government of the Church was arraigned, Eliot, Pym and other leaders of the Commons being Calvinist in feeling. The House now summoned before it several preachers and authors who had controverted Calvinist opinions, and ordered Cosin's devotional work to be burnt as 'papistical.' Theological discussion was almost a passion among many sections of society, and violent language was used hardly imaginable in these days. Charles, to whom indecent language was detestable, had tried to allay the frenzy by forbidding anyone to preach on predestination and election (the typical Calvinist dogmas), and he now sent to the Speaker to adjourn parliament. Never before had the sovereign's right to close a parliamentary session been contested, but Eliot was determined that the questions raised should not be shelved. He got the door locked, that the members might "not hear" the royal message, and when the Speaker, Finch, rose to leave the Chair—which automatically breaks off a sitting—Strode and some others rushed to hold him down in it. "You shall sit till we please to rise," cried Holles with an oath, and as the Speaker refused to put to the House three resolutions handed in by Eliot, but sat helplessly shedding tears, Holles read them aloud and the members shouted their assent. These "Three Resolutions" were to the effect that: Anyone introducing innovations in religion. Anyone advising the collection of tonnage and poundage without parliamentary consent, and Anyone paying tonnage and poundage, was a traitor, *i. e.* liable to the punishment of death. Then the doors were opened, the members in high excitement departed, and the doors were closed behind them to shut them out for eleven years.

It was hardly surprising that the indignant king caused nine of the most prominent actors in this uproar to be arrested. When

they claimed privilege of parliament (*i. e.* that a member cannot be arrested for his words in the House) they were told that after the notice of adjournment parliament no longer was sitting and that their violent actions rendered them amenable to the common law against riot. If they would acknowledge their fault the king would pardon them. They refused: Holles escaped, the rest were imprisoned, at first very leniently, then—as they continued political agitation—more strictly. In course of time several of them, (including Selden) quietly made apology and were released, but Eliot and Valentine refused to apologise and after three years of confinement Eliot died in the Tower, a martyr to his conception of the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown and a victim of the king's conviction that he, not the half-crazy Felton, was the true murderer of Buckingham. Valentine held out till he was unconditionally released just before the parliament of 1640.

Only three years had passed since Charles I had ascended the throne, but it was already clear that the two parts of the Government, Crown and Parliament, were absolutely opposed to each other upon the most important questions with which a government must deal. Such a condition was new and alarming and meant a paralysis of government. Each side took certain things for granted, which the other totally denied.

(1) Charles had every intention of observing the constitution, as he understood it. He supposed that he had the right to act as he thought wise, provided that he did not infringe any statute; and he imagined that so long as he kept within the letter of the law sufficiently to secure a legal verdict in any trial, his subjects must and would obey. "With the key of the laws he seeks to open the entrance to absolute power," commented the Venetian ambassador, and Englishmen thought the same. He felt sure that the royal supremacy over the Church was not to be shared with parliament and that in his choice of ministers and his direction of foreign policy he was not bound to consult it. He did not perceive that for a long period the Crown had selected ministers to whom parliaments had not objected. When the Houses had objected they had impeached the ministers, from Henry the Sixth's duke of Suffolk (1450) to James' earl of Middlesex (1624), and the sovereign then had to dismiss or even punish them.

(2) The parliament, on the other hand, assumed that the king was bound, not only by the letter but by the spirit of the laws, and that they themselves should explain the spirit of the laws to suit new conditions or ambitions. They perceived that the king could direct no policy contrary to their wish so long as they alone found the money for it. They therefore took for granted that he was morally bound not to find any other ways of raising funds. In their modes of asserting the necessity which the Crown was under of choosing ministers and directing policy to suit their views, the Houses had committed some strange innovations which they did not consider

to be unconstitutional, but the king did, assuming that parliament was morally bound to follow the precedents of the last century and a half.

(3) The question of the royal minister, Buckingham, and the question of finance were embittered by the theological quarrel. The leaders of the Houses assumed that the king and the bishops intended to bring back Romanism, and habitually spoke as if this was a certainty. As it was utterly untrue, the king was deeply offended, and was hardly likely to believe that the spokesmen were conscientious. The puritan habit of calling the actions of the bishops *innovations* begged the whole question.

In parliament at this epoch the House of Commons was stronger than the Lords; the balance of importance between the two has varied in different centuries. In the contest with the Crown it should be noticed that actual legality lay more with the king than the Commons, and that Eliot's party were claiming for the Commons two new powers: (a) the power of acting as a summary law-court, in which the House was to be accuser, judge and jury at once; and (b) a power of making a new law by recording a resolution, instead of going through the accustomed process of passing a Bill through three readings and then sending it to the Lords. The direct action which the Commons were trying to take in religious questions was even more contrary to both the spirit and the letter of Tudor legislation than was Charles' conduct over taxation. On the other hand, the exclusive power of taxation which the Commons claimed had been vindicated again and again in past centuries, while freedom from arbitrary arrest and from such practices as punitive billeting of soldiers, might reasonably be claimed for Englishmen according to both the spirit and the usual administration of the laws. It might, in fact, be said that though the king did not act illegally a good deal of his conduct was unconstitutional, while the Commons were reading into the Constitution some new liberties and powers which they intended to have, and were using new methods of establishing their claims. Neither side, however, believed itself to be attempting anything new, but considered the other flagrantly in the wrong. Coke, who was supposed to be very learned in the past, assured the Commons that all they desired and required was "in Magna Charta," and they believed him implicitly. Selden, who probably knew better, was too prudent to contradict Coke.

There ensued eleven years without a parliament, during which Charles relinquished the attempt to join in European questions. Peace was made with France at once (1629) and with Spain a year later. And though the king wished to be able to help Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden he could only venture to encourage volunteers—the Scottish marquis of Hamilton, Sir Alexander Leslie, a Scottish soldier of fortune, the famous Sir Horace Vere (the younger of the "Fighting Veres") and other adventurous or chivalrous spirits—to devote their swords to the cause of his ill-starred sister Elizabeth,

"the Queen of Hearts," and of the heroic Gustavus. At home, the king's Personal Government, as it is called (1629-1640), was carried on by the usual royal ministers and officials, and a steady effort was made to reform the dishonesty and injustice which had grown up in many government departments under the lax favouritism of James I and the self-seeking of the great men.

This was best seen in the northern half of England, which, from the Trent to the Cheviots, was habitually governed by special systems. The Scottish marches had three military Wardens. The County Palatine of Lancaster had its own administration, as the major part of the royal Duchy of Lancaster, and was often combined with Cheshire.

But most of England north of the Trent was ruled by the Council of the North, and of this Sir Thomas Wentworth was made president in 1628. After the king's acceptance of the Petition of Right he had withdrawn from the party of opposition, for by the death of Buckingham he saw the way opened to a practical, reforming government. His conduct was regarded by the others as treachery. "You have left us," Pym is reported to have said, "but I will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders." Wentworth's conception of government was the establishment of such justice and order as would ensure freedom and fairness in daily life among all classes.

Now that the misuse of royal power was ended, Wentworth considered that the principal menace to general liberty lay in the fanaticism of the parliamentary Puritans and the arrogance of the great families. His position as head of the Council of the North, in his own county of Yorkshire, placed him above the local gentry, with most of whom he was popular, but those who had been family rivals before now became political foes as well. In executing his task of destroying local tyranny Wentworth cared nothing for technicalities, and sometimes came into collision with the lawyers and courts at Westminster. When Lord Eure refused to pay a debt due to the Crown and defied the sheriff by shutting himself up in his castle, Wentworth fetched cannon and announced that he would wreck the place unless Eure gave in. By such methods he made many of the great his enemies, but won the gratitude and confidence of the country squires and yeomen. His practical administration seems to have run on the lines of taking expert advice and then ordering the local authorities to carry out his instructions. By such methods he put in force in the plague-stricken city of York (1631) a system of sanitation which produced admirable results and won for him the affection and regard of the citizens.

Throughout the time of James and Charles the active work of government was carried out, as under the Tudors, by the three Privy Councils (for England, Scotland and Ireland respectively), by the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the Council of the North and the Council of Wales. All these courts legally derived

their powers from the supreme power of the king, as if they were his delegates, the Star Chamber having been in existence since the reign of Henry VII and formally sanctioned by parliament. The Council of the North had been steadily at work since Henry VIII reorganised it. The Court of High Commission was an instrument first devised by Thomas Cromwell and extensively used by Elizabeth. It also had been recognised by parliament under the Act of Supremacy (1559). The judges and bishops who composed it exercised the royal supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs. Cases of scandalous immorality, of clergy who did not obey their bishops, of lay or clerical disorderliness in church or in connection with religion, came properly before it, and, exercising the sovereign's judicial power, it could inflict punishments, although there was no code or law to prescribe always consistent sentences.

During the eleven years of non-parliamentary government, material prosperity, the arts and literature flourished visibly. Peace, the cessation of parliamentary and pulpit agitation, the steady administration of justice, the regularity of the customs duties, and the protection given to shipping by the fleet, all encouraged commerce, which had suffered during the uncertain legal contests of late years, and many of the energetic Puritans, lords, gentlemen and merchants, turned their energies to foreign commerce and colonies. As the king's financial expedients all had legal precedent, the lawyers and judges could hardly help enforcing them according to the letter of the law, while (says Clarendon) "those rough courses which made Charles haply less loved at home, made him more feared abroad," a result which certainly was one object with the king. Nevertheless, a number of local disturbances, and the passive resistance offered by the gentry to forced loans, ship-money or customs duties, showed that discontent existed, though the local perturbations were certainly not greater than those of the two last reigns, and seemingly less. The party which was aggrieved, that of the rich gentry and wealthy townsmen, could afford to wait. Parliaments must some day be resumed, and then the House of Commons would protect and avenge the class which it represented.

In the meantime, Charles' financial, judicial and Church system temporarily triumphed. Financial resources were found in tonnage and poundage, in granting monopolies and licences for annual rents, and by enforcing those ancient feudal rights which James' parliament had refused to extinguish for an equivalent revenue. Men were reminded of the law of Edward I on knighthood, and compelled either to pay fees and be knighted, or to pay a fine to be excused (*Distraint of Knighthood*). The parliament of 1625 had wished that "the king's estate might subsist better of itself," and now old forest limits were studied to this end. The Crown forests included most of the wild moor or marsh districts, and lords and others who had encroached, or whose ancestors had encroached, upon these limits, were ordered to pay fines. The earl of Essex,

son of Elizabeth's traitor favourite, was charged a fine nominally of £300,000, a threat of oppression which confirmed him in Puritanism and opposition.

A large proportion of the fines was excused, but this only meant that the Crown gained little, while the irritation remained. On the other hand, the scientific methods used to make some of the tracts reclaimed for the Crown more profitable, impoverished many—squires, yeomen and peasants—who had long been taking the profits themselves. A great scheme for draining the marshes of Axholme and the Fens was set afoot by the king, who was the principal landlord, and by the earl of Bedford, whose name still remains in the *Bedford Level*, and to whom the king granted an enormous portion on condition of his undertaking part of the work. Later ages have honoured the enterprise, but at the time the local farmers, fishers and hunters were furious. One vehement objector was a small squire of Huntingdon, Oliver Cromwell.

Charles and his lawyer ministers did not carry political feeling into their regulation of commerce. If the earl of Essex and Lords Saye and Bristol were impoverished by the forest regulations, so was the earl of Southampton. On the other hand, Bedford was not the only puritan leader who obtained special remunerative grants from the Crown at this time: the earl of Warwick, for privateering, and John Pym, for his West India Company, got great advantages, nor do they appear to have recollected, when customs duties were again in question in the House, that they and their partners were for twenty years exempted from those duties by royal favour—an exemption which might look much like a monopoly. During this period, wrote a Gloucestershire squire who was then a law student in the Temple, "the City was very brave and the whole island swimming in an ocean of peace and security."

It was not for financial reasons that another influential class was attacked by judicial action. Heavy sentences were inflicted on writers who evaded the censor's rules, such as the authors of violent tracts against episcopacy or against the stage. This was done, not in order to protect the drama, though the recollection of Shakespeare and the appearance, just at this time, of *Comus* might have pleaded for a little tolerance, even from puritan pamphleteers, but because pamphlets against the stage were made the vehicle of scurrilous abuse of individuals, including the king and queen. The use of the Star Chamber, which required no jury, to inflict harder punishments than the ordinary courts might have done on a charge of libel roused much resentment. The most notorious instance was the condemnation of a lawyer, a physician and a clergyman—Prynne, Bastwick and Burton—for several such pamphlets: "a durty, railing piece," says an indignant clerk who had read Bastwick's diatribe against the Church. The offenders had to stand in the pillory and to have their ears clipped, a usual

punishment for libel or foul language.¹ But while they stood in the pillory an admiring crowd hailed them as martyrs to liberty.

Ecclesiastically, the steady enforcement of the standard of Bancroft and Laud produced resistance only among that minority of the clergy who disliked their standard. The agitation came principally from the aristocratic laity and was carefully fostered by virulent attacks on a few preachers here and there who, having dragged politics into the pulpit, praised royal or episcopal rule in extravagant terms. "The indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad and commented on than the wisdom, sobriety and devotion of a hundred," says Selden. The very pains taken by the bishops and numbers of the clergy to foster real religious education and observance brought them into the more odium with the Calvinist section, who desired to see dogma, of Calvin's type, rather than worship, made the basis of religious life, and held that the morality and creed of private persons ought to be examined by presbyteries, as in Scotland. Another grievance of the Puritan aristocracy was the relaxation in the persecution of the Roman-catholics. They loudly upbraided the bishops as *papists*, and labelled clergy who did not adopt the extreme Calvinist doctrine upon predestination '*Arminians*,' after a Dutch controversialist: it was implied that they sacrificed convictions to ceremonial. Another theological term of abuse, '*Erastian*,' was also culled from Holland: anyone who considered, or was accused of considering, that the National Church should be to some degree under the control of the State was called an Erastian: it was implied that he was "a State-protestant, that hath no eye beyond his private profit," "making within his heart God of the king." No royalist or episcopalian was credited with a conscience.

Of the ministers who served Charles I after the death of Buckingham, the only one in whom the king really confided was Laud, who had been an early protégé and friend of Buckingham. The archbishop was fearless and disinterested and entirely sympathetic with Charles' ideals. Accordingly, he was made a member of the Privy Council, of the Court of High Commission, of the Star Chamber, and of the board of the Treasury. Laud considered it his duty to help the king, and it had been the custom in England till Elizabeth's time that archbishops should be active in the government of the country. He was an untiring worker and attended personally to the business, so, since much of the action of Charles' government was unpopular, Laud himself rapidly became one of the most fiercely hated men in England. He was considered by the puritan leaders to be much more responsible than he really was, and his fearlessness and conscientiousness stood in his way, forbidding him to answer slander or listen to clamour. He had as little tact as Buckingham, and, like

¹ Not the whole ear cut off: they were to be contemptuously marked, like an animal.

him, spoke out his views, especially his disapprovals, quite openly. He was a close friend of Wentworth and corresponded with him on the best methods of carrying out the religious and social reforms to which both devoted their energies with tireless public spirit. Laud, Wentworth and the king were agreed upon the principle that the great should be dealt with severely, the simple and poor very gently. All three were profoundly attached to the Church and loved especially that dignity and beauty of service which Laud endeavoured to make universal. None of the three had any understanding of the passion newly developed among the gentry of England for self-government, but regarded the action of the House of Commons as little more than a temporary disorderliness. Through Laud's influence Juxon, the pious bishop of London, also became a minister of State and shared, therefore, in the archbishop's unpopularity.

Men had by this time forgotten the habitual services of bishops and clergy in the thankless task of government, but spoke of them as if they were actuated by ambition and did the nation some wrong in holding any political office. Tyranny and prelacy, they said, went together; and puritan pamphleteers abused the bishops as if they alone were responsible for everything done by the Courts in which one or another of them sat. Selden, no lover of bishops and clergy, observed that even if a clergyman had no faults of his own "the faults of the whole tribe shall be laid upon him," while as for the Star Chamber and the High Commission, though there were more lay than clerical judges in those courts, the bishops alone were always blamed. As an instance, "the People think," he said, "the bishops only sentenced Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, when there were but two there and one spake not in his own cause:" but Selden did not publish his criticisms, and to this day that famous sentence is often described as inflicted by "the bishops." The consistent abstention of the prelates from pamphleteering or other modes of agitation placed them at a disadvantage, for the Puritans appealed in this way to the public, which supposed that the bishops had no reply to offer, and therefore assumed every charge against the clergy to be true. Oliver Cromwell's first parliamentary speech, for instance, was to urge the House (in 1629) to send for a certain preacher who, he had *heard say*, had "preached flat popery."

Laud had, moreover, raised personal enemies by attacking the moral disorders of certain great families, much as Wentworth had done by setting himself to repress their arbitrary conduct. Both ministers relied on royal support, knowing that the king approved of their ideals and their methods. That the king might not have the power, or could be wanting in the will, to support them, they could hardly yet imagine. But Charles was compromised in English eyes by his Roman-catholic wife, and the permission which she obtained from him for her own friends to worship in her chapel and in those of the foreign ambassadors

undoubtedly led to numerous conversions to the Roman Church among the aristocracy of her court. When Lady Falkland (mother of the famous scholar) led a pilgrimage publicly to a holy well at St. Asaph, when two ministers of State personally recommended to the king by Laud were known to have turned Romanists secretly, when a Roman emissary proffered Laud a Cardinalate and the queen took the Prince of Wales to her own chapel, it was hardly surprising that the terror of popery should increase and that Laud himself should be suspect.

Yet Charles, Laud and Wentworth all detested Romanism. The influence which from time to time swayed Charles to temporary concessions to the papists was, not his own wish for toleration, for his was an intolerant temper, but at first the queen, and later, political expediency. After the death of Buckingham, Henrietta Maria and his children absorbed Charles' strong but rather narrow affections. Laud was, apparently, his sole other private confidant. Wentworth, great minister though he was, had joined in Buckingham's impeachment and in the Petition of Right, and the king had no personal friendship for him. But Henrietta Maria was a counsellor even more pernicious than Buckingham, for, unlike him, she cared nothing for England and she was easily led by her favourites, or by the emissaries of the pope. When civil troubles began she cherished continual hopes that either from France or from the papacy she might obtain assistance for her husband, if only he would make enough promises, the fulfilment of which might be shirked later on. She had no comprehension of the English and was such a bad judge of character that she continued to favour men who, like Holland, again and again betrayed her husband. She fancied that she could settle the grave quarrels of the time by intrigues, such as fashionable lords and ladies practised in her native country, where politics had become a gambler's game, the population was called the *canaille*, and power only signified high titles, money and the indulgence of caprice.

The king could keep nothing secret from the queen, and hardly could resist her entreaties for anything upon which she had set her heart. She chattered his confidences to her ladies or her priests, and continually persuaded him against his better judgment and the advice of Wentworth, of whom she was jealous. She imagined that her infantile practices could cope with the determination of the parliamentary leaders, and lightly dragged her vacillating husband into perfidy, now promising and now retracting.¹ Whether, with Wentworth always behind him, Charles could have faced the power of an irate parliament, is doubtful; with Henrietta Maria beside him he was doomed from the outset. It is hardly likely that the king would have listened to any adviser who urged him to conciliate parliament; certain it is that neither Laud nor

¹ Especially to Irish parties.

Juxon nor his principal lay ministers—Coventry, Weston, Noy and Finch (all of them able lawyers)—did so influence him.

After Buckingham's death Charles had taken up the duke's plans for re-organising the fleet. He used the same method as the early Tudors, employing, not great men, but officials of moderate rank many of whom were experts (such as Mainwaring and Mansell). He placed the famous family of Pett once more in charge of construction and himself took pains to keep the officials accountable.

By 1630 the active shipbuilding of the French and Dutch had reduced the English to a humiliating position in the Narrow Seas and convinced Charles that he must regularly maintain a better fleet, both to protect English shores from pirates and to enable him to help the Protestant League. Noy showed him that a levy of money used to be made, as late as the last decade of Elizabeth, from the maritime towns and counties for this purpose, and writs directing *ship-money* to be paid were drawn up in correct terms and were duly obeyed without any complaint (1633-4). Charles applied the money at once to the fleet, and the Narrow Seas were again policed by an English squadron, to the great satisfaction of the eastern, southern and south-western counties. Every following year till 1639 similar *ship-money writs* were drawn up and paid, but less willingly every year. From 1635 they were sent to inland towns and counties as well, on the reasonable ground that as the whole nation was concerned, it was unjust to tax only the coast.

Now *ship-money* had long been an impost involved in controversy. No man denied that when a fleet had to be built and manned the seaboard counties and towns must find the crews and the vessels, just as other places found militia. In Plantagenet days, every time of war saw men collected, trained and armed, as troops, in each inland place, and vessels fitted out, provisioned and manned by the seaports and maritime counties. But when ships became larger, and a different type of vessel was required for war than what served the shipper, the seaports found their burden very much heavier than that of inland places, and in the sixteenth century those not actually threatened by danger tried to escape contributing. York succeeded (1547, 1558) in shirking altogether, on the plea that its river boats no longer sailed the seas so that it could not be a port. But when, in Armada year, Hull found itself charged with two ships and two pinnaces (say, two cruisers and two destroyers), it protested that the trade of York, the West Riding, and most of the county went through its exposed harbour and that they ought to help. The whole county utterly refused, but the Government (*i. e.* the Privy Council and Council of the North) compelled York and the seaboard towns to pay. The struggle was renewed in 1593-1598, and this time the government made the West Riding towns as well as the coast towns pay their quota.¹ When so much resistance had been offered by one seaboard county it should have been

¹ Reid, *Council of the North*, Bk. II. c. 4.

evident to the Crown officials that to make a general extension of the writ to inland counties was to court trouble.

Charles I was, in fact, trying to use two inconsistent arguments : distraint of knighthood, resumptions of forest-land and the earlier ship-money were justified as ancient rights according to the letter of past precedents ; but the new ship-money writ was to be justified as a fair modification ordered to suit modern circumstances. The king could not fairly plead both at once, and as the second claim amounted to imposing a universal new tax it was obvious that the Constitution provided for such a business nothing but an appeal to parliament.

Numbers of persons believed the second writ illegal and refused to pay. The king hereupon asked the judges for their interpretation of the law, and they replied, with some hesitation (since their duty was to administer standing laws, not to expound the unwritten customs of the Constitution) that the king had power to extend the writ to inland counties if the kingdom were in danger. The political leaders professed to see no danger and assumed that Charles intended to use the fleet in some manner to coerce his subjects. On the other hand, seafaring men rejoiced, for the French and Dutch had now large fleets and their boats habitually fished in English waters, and occasionally even cut out some other alien vessel, —their enemy, but to us a neutral trader—from its harbourage in an English port. Devonshire paid ship-money without demur ; the eastern counties in triumph took to fishing and salting herring themselves, but they did it so badly that their goods would not sell abroad. They then acquiesced in the return of the Dutch, who paid the Crown a large sum for permission to do so. French boats, too, had to pay for licences, and these were limited in number.

At length a test case was brought. John Hampden, assessed at 20s. (for the tax was not a heavy one), was sued for not paying, and after a very lengthy trial the majority of the judges decided for the Crown. The case (1637–8) was watched with universal interest, for Hampden was a well-known and wealthy landowner who had already made himself conspicuous as a Puritan (he had drilled his troop of militia on a Sunday in Beaconsfield churchyard, for which piece of irreverence he had been fined).

The decision in Hampden's case seemed to have given the king victory : he had found a revenue which would suffice for government so long as no crisis arose. But the discontent of England was soon to be brought to explosion point by critical events in the king's two other kingdoms : in Scotland (the Covenant and the Bishops' War, 1638–9) and in Ireland (the Rebellion of 1641). The former necessitated a parliament in England, the latter stimulated the parliamentary rebellion.

The penal laws against the Roman-catholics, whether in England or Ireland, for the strict execution of which parliament so often petitioned, were those enacted after the Gunpowder Plot, in 1606.

(a) Recusants who would not attend the parish church were to pay a fine, increasing each time, of which half went to the Crown, half to the informer. Churchwardens were rewarded, or fined, for notifying, or ignoring, the default.

(b) The Crown might take two-thirds of a recusant's landed estate.

(c) Recusants who would not take the oath of allegiance, if tendered to them, were to be imprisoned, and if they fled no one might relieve them (*give food or shelter*) under heavy penalties; an informer was rewarded.

(d) Recusants might not enter the royal presence nor live in London, but must stay within five miles of their homes, unless licensed to travel.

(e) Recusants could not become lawyers, doctors, apothecaries, military officers nor hold any public office: might not be executors, trustees or guardians. A Romanist widow might not inherit her husband's property and a Protestant husband of a Romanist was reckoned as Romanist.

(f) Recusants must only be married, baptised or buried according to the rites of the Church of England—otherwise the rite was accounted null and void. They might not send their children to be educated elsewhere.

(g) They were not to be recognised in a law-court as plaintiff or defendant, i. e. any suit against them was automatically decided against them.

XXIX

SCOTLAND (1603-1639)

JAMES I earned his title of the "British Solomon" rather in his Scottish than in his English kingdom. Throughout his long reign he steadily applied principles which gradually centred in his own hands the supreme authority.

Unremitting severity reduced the independence of the Highlands and their fringe of isles, while the great noble families of the Midlands and Lowlands, who had for centuries aspired to share authority with the Crown, were enlisted in the royal service by using the methods of Henry VIII. James distributed among them the spoils of the ancient Church, and reaped, like Henry, a self-interested loyalty. Thirdly, his accession to the English crown enabled him to subdue the Borders by using a single armed commission for the whole district, Scottish or English. The last Scotch foray of the old type took place, as if in bravado, in the year 1603, but the Armstrongs paid heavily for it.

Towards James' ideal of a united kingdom of Great Britain he advanced only so far as to obtain the abolition of all unfriendly laws in both lands and the recognition of the equal citizenship of all who were born after his accession to the English crown. Towards his ideal of a united Anglo-Scottish Church, which was to prepare the way to a harmony of all Christian Churches, he had achieved the re-erection in Scotland of as many bishoprics as had existed before the Reformation. It remained to crush or cajole into obedience the presbyterianism of Scotland. To this end James used his political authority. He conducted the government by a Scottish Privy Council, carefully selected and rewarded, and by a packed parliament, managed by a new device for choosing *The Lords of the Articles*. These Lords constituted a kind of controlling committee of parliament, allowing to it hardly any functions but that of voting aye or no to the acts drawn up by the Lords of the Articles. In consequence a Scottish parliament was far less independent than an English one, if only the Crown could establish a hold on this all-important committee. James succeeded by means of using the bishops as a separate estate of the Scottish realm again. The bishops chose eight lay lords, the lay lords eight bishops, and these sixteen chose eight from the commoners. Apparently fair, this method really ensured the king's supremacy, since all the bishops were royal nominees. Finally, by preventing the General Assembly

of the Kirk from meeting, the king for some years silenced the presbyterian theologians, and prevented them from organising resistance. Owing to the awkward methods of the Scottish parliament, and to the more modern, organised methods of the presbyterian system which lay behind the General Assembly, the latter was more truly a representative body than the Scottish parliament, though it represented only the majority part of the nation.

As James sweetened the loss of Scottish dignity and the subordination of Scottish foreign policy to that of England by lavish gifts to Scottish nobles provided from his English resources, they found the royal absence tolerable, while the disappearance of foreign intrigues made for greater internal peace and order, and consequently for prosperity. England, too, was now partially open to Scottish enterprise, and provided an excellent market for wool and yarn, while fresh experiences and opportunities withdrew attention for a time from religious grievances.

James tried to give Scotland her share in the new American plantations by assigning to her *Nova Scotia*, a land in which he hoped to interest the gentry by offering to bestow the new dignity of baronet on those who would either send out and maintain colonists, or contribute money for that purpose; there were soon plenty of baronets, but not very many colonists.

A more successful speculation was the Plantation of Ulster, and thither, and to England, was Scottish migration now directed, instead of to Germany and to the Baltic coasts. It is said that by 1640 as many as 40,000 Scottish settlers were to be found in the north of Ireland.

For all these causes, and partly also because James' detestation of Romanism was believed to be strong and sincere, Scotland tolerated his ecclesiastical experiments. But the nation declined to subject its Church definitely to royal and episcopal control when, in 1617, James revisited his native land with that object. Nevertheless, he obtained an apparent assent by a packed General Assembly, which met at Perth (1618) and ratified *The Five Articles* of Perth, which inculcated the use of more ceremonies, including the old practice of kneeling at the Holy Communion, and the religious observance of the ancient festivals, Christmas and Easter. To the stern Presbyterian the former command signified idolatry, the latter, superstition. But a packed parliament ratified the Articles (1621), thus making them the law of the land, and the king could boast that he governed Scotland with his pen: "I write, and it is done," he said, "and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not by the sword." And he held up his northern kingdom for admiration and imitation to his southern ministers.

In the reign of Charles I it became evident that the three kingdoms could no longer remain separate units. Seeing that in all of

them the king intended his political authority to go hand-in-hand with ecclesiastical authority, it was a tremendous difficulty that the three kingdoms were divided among the same three religious parties, but in differing proportions. In England, the Church episcopal system was more generally accepted, but not with a universal enthusiasm, while one large minority was Romanist, another Puritan: in Scotland the majority in the lowland regions, which alone counted in practical politics, was Presbyterian, a disorganised minority in the Highlands, out of reach, was partly Romanist, partly and increasingly Episcopalian. In Ireland the balance was otherwise, the natives and a large proportion of the Anglo-Irish being Romanist, the official clique and some new-comers from England belonging to the English Church, while the Scottish settlers in Ulster were Presbyterian.

Charles I was deluded by his father's success in Scotland into regarding it as a tractable kingdom whence he might draw supplies for his foreign enterprises more easily than from England. He had left his native country as a little child and was totally ignorant of its character.

He began with a piece of extraordinary folly, resuming into his own hands all Crown and Church lands which had been granted away since 1542 (Act of Revocation, 1625), and he procured the ratification and application of the act by a sweeping reconstruction of the Scottish Council and all the judicial bodies.

The effect was to impoverish or offend all Scottish families of any importance, and although the king made an ample provision for the Church out of the recovered ecclesiastical property, this was by no means reckoned to him for merit, though it furthered the adoption of the Episcopalian Church in the Highlands. His French marriage and his favour to Archbishop Laud stirred profound suspicions of his Protestantism.

Charles did not visit Scotland till 1633, when he celebrated a belated coronation, and had a Liturgy drawn up by the English primate used in the royal chapel. His handling of the parliament then summoned, his establishment of a Court of High Commission, and the trial of Lord Balmerino, on an episcopal accusation, for treason, because he joined in a remonstrance to the king on his recent actions, and termed them unconstitutional, all brought home to the Scottish nobles the shackles which the Crown had placed upon their independence since its acquisition of England.

The result was an unexpected combination against the royal authority of the nobility with the popular Presbyterian party, and this new party coalition swept away all the ground which had been gained by James' new mode of government and the Episcopal Church. The firstfruit of the combination was the Edinburgh riot, when, in 1637, the use of the new liturgy, and of no other kind of service, was commanded. No printed Prayer-book had ever been in use in Scotland, where such a book was stigmatised (rather

oddly) as popish—an English, popish book inflicted by royal power. “Traitor, dost thou say mass at my lug?” screamed “a she zealot,” when a private member of the congregation in the cathedral uttered an “Amen.” In the din which arose the clergy and choir could not make themselves heard. Outside a crowd was roaring execrations, and when the clergy came away they were stoned and cursed. There ensued a deadlock: the Privy Council had no authority to act of itself, the king was in London, and during a long period of peace the traditions of insurrection had faded away.

But if it was difficult for the Scots, whether enthusiasts or politicals, to know how to get at their king, entrenched in another kingdom, it was equally difficult for their king to put any pressure upon them. Countless petitions were handed in to the puzzled and much-divided Privy Council in Edinburgh, who could only agree so far as to send their own petition to Charles imploring him to withdraw this Prayer-book. The king’s answer was to proclaim his absolute refusal and to announce that even petitions or meetings in opposition to the Liturgy would be punished as treason.

Charles was now to experience the results of having alienated the Scottish nobility. A number of them instantly resolved to resist such despotic treatment, and formed one of the customary Scottish *bonds*, or pledges taken on oath, to assure each other’s mutual responsibility and fidelity. But they did not confine this covenant to themselves.

The *National League and Covenant* of 1638 was a triple instrument. It consisted of (1) a repetition of the most moderate of the national statements of creed—a *Confession of Faith* which had been drawn up, with James’ sanction, in 1581, condemning the principal tenets of the Roman Church; (2) an assertion that the recent changes controverted that Confession; (3) an oath to defend the Crown and True Religion and to stand together.

The oath to the entire Covenant was enthusiastically sworn by the majority of the nobles, the townspeople and the gentry of any importance. For the first time since the days of Robert Bruce the most effective part of the Scottish people was firmly united in a great movement which swept the whole country. The exception consisted in the mountaineers, a part of whom were still Roman Catholic though an increasing number followed their chiefs in accepting the royal Episcopal Church. The Covenanters sent their demands direct to the king, for they agreed to ignore the Privy Council so long as bishops sat in it. They required the abolition of the Prayer-book and of Episcopacy, and the calling of a free Parliament and General Assembly to which all contested questions should be referred.

Charles convened the Parliament and a General Assembly and sent as his representative the marquis of Hamilton. Hamilton was as vacillating and shifty as Charles himself, and was swayed at times by considerations of his own interest. His negotiations merely put

off an armed struggle while both sides were preparing, and as the parliament (1639) simply voted the abolition of episcopacy there was no ground for hope that any compromise could be made.

The revolutionary nature of the Covenant, which was evident from the beginning, was formally avowed when the Assembly attacked the bishops. They were summoned to answer for themselves both personally and as prelates, and though they, naturally, did not acknowledge the authority of the Assembly and had, indeed, very wisely fled, they were all judged, all deposed, and some 'excommunicated.' This was a flat denial of the royal authority. The marquis ordered the Assembly to dissolve, but it paid no attention.

Troops were being gathered and the Firth of Forth was fortified. Numbers of soldiers who had seen foreign service joined the Covenanters, and their general, Alexander Leslie, who had been a distinguished officer of the great Gustavus Adolphus, brought not only his own sword and skill, but a supply of weapons from Sweden—he thoughtfully took out his salary there in field-guns and muskets—and he sent an invitation to his fellow-soldiers still abroad to return to fight for their country which brought over an invaluable contingent of expert officers. The 'Bishops' war' was about to open, with all the advantages on the side of the Scots.

CHAPTER XXX

IRELAND (1603-1639). WENTWORTH

THE great and fatal drawback to the colonisation plan in Ireland was that it did not make reasonable provision for the natives, who were left to the changing policy of royal deputies.

After the disgrace and failure of Essex, Ireland was left in the hands, first, of Lord Mountjoy (1600-1603), then of Sir Arthur Chichester, an Armada captain of Elizabeth's (1604-1616). They both regarded the native rebels as dangerous but despicable savages who had better be exterminated, but Chichester soon came to the conclusion that, as this was not possible, he must deal with them as a race left on sufferance to dwell in certain reserved districts (much as the modern American government treated Red Indians), and having regard to the failure, for the last hundred years, of the system of dealing with them through their chiefs, he announced to the Irish that they were to be treated, like the English, as individual subjects of the king, their chiefs being entitled only to such customary dues and authority as would not conflict with the royal government. Consequently, upon the flight and condemnation of Tyrone, Chichester intended to 'plant' only those districts which really had been the property of the rebel earl. Could his plans have been carried out in detail the problem might have been solved, but Chichester had neither the means nor the authority to execute his sensible ideas.

With the accession of James I the English government had begun the fatal habit of continually altering its plans for the government of Ireland in order to affect political opinion in England,—a habit which was to vitiate English statesmanship for over three centuries. James insisted (1) that all Ulster must be confiscated, so that he might raise money by selling estates, and (2) Roman-catholicism must be actively persecuted, which resulted in a kind of alliance between many of the Anglo-Irish in the old Pale district with the natives to oppose the government. The Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry, whether Romanist or not, were not disposed to submit tamely to royal dictation contrary to their own interests, and when the Crown tried to supply the lack of a religious penal code by issuing commands to individuals, in the shape of Privy Seal writs, they resisted. The writs ordered the persons to whom they were directed to attend their parish churches, on pain of fine or

imprisonment; the gentry refused to obey, contested the cases in the law-courts, and defeated the Crown.

Lord Falkland (father of the learned Falkland) was Deputy for seven years (1622-9). A conscientious but incompetent man, he tried to enforce a penal system of his own by banishing all the papal priests, and to extend the colonising system by sweeping confiscations. But his harsh attempts were stopped by the Council at home, and a kind of compromise negotiated with the Anglo-Irish which seemed to offer a real basis for a settlement. By *The Graces*, as this compromise was called (1628), Charles I promised to discontinue the fiercer acts of persecution, and to permit an oath of allegiance to be so framed that loyal Romanists could take it. He also promised that trade with England should be free, and that the genuine possession of land during the past sixty years should form a sufficient title to prevent confiscation upon legal excuses.

In return the Irish parliament was to provide funds for an army for three years, and it was hoped that this army would reduce the entire island to order. The great drawback to "The Graces" was that though Charles was entitled, constitutionally, to rule Ireland in agreement with the Irish parliament, the eyes of the English were turned upon his actions with such suspicion that any promise of fairer treatment of the Romanists seemed to them a conspiracy in favour of the papacy, while it was, of course, impossible for the king to force his free-trade plan upon England without the consent of the English parliament, which was most unlikely to give it.

In 1632 Charles I made Lord Wentworth, who had for three years been upholding successfully the royal authority in the north of England, Deputy of Ireland (1632-1640).

Wentworth's administration was of a type new to Ireland. His aim was, as in Yorkshire, to establish a strong rule for the sake of the weal and unity of the state, in total disregard of personal or sectional interests. He based it upon the royal authority as the supreme and the one disinterested power, and carried it out by honest officers and upright justices.

As in Yorkshire, he was resolved to discourage the pride and rapacity of the great houses by severity, and to establish a strong branch of the English Church as the best and most necessary ally in the work of civilising and restraining the factions which he hoped to unite as a nation.

By appointing a number of honest and competent officials, and creating a well-disciplined little army and a small fleet, he was at once successful in practical administration. The fleet cleared the sea of pirates, and at once commerce with England began to flow to Liverpool and Chester, so that rising customs duties witnessed to increasing prosperity: on land, the army put down robbers, riots and incipient revolts, and people found it worth while to till the soil and attend to manufacture.

With regard to the parliament, he perceived that the conditions were totally different from those of England.

The Irish parliament represented, (a) the old families of the Pale, who now had obtained more power and larger estates out of the ecclesiastical confiscations or the lands of Irish rebels; (b) the towns and counties; (c) the recent settlers 'planted' under Elizabeth or James, and of these many were Presbyterian.

He found that in a large part of the 'English' district, especially round Dublin, there was hardly any recognition of religion at all, the Church having been plundered by the great families on their own account. The earl of Cork, Richard Boyle—an Elizabethan speculator ennobled by James I, had pulled down the altar in Dublin Cathedral and erected in its place a splendid tomb to his wife. He had not only annexed vast estates as a result of enforcing the penal laws, but had seized the entire ecclesiastical endowments of the port of Youghal. On the other hand, a number of other and less powerful families in the Pale had remained Roman-catholic through all the religious changes.

In 1611 the President of Munster, Carew, had said that the older English settlers and the Irish natives were combining in their dislike of the Scottish settlers and of religious pressure: "They will rebel under the veil of religion and liberty," and they would massacre the Scots and the *new* English colonists.¹

Wentworth was determined to hold up in Ireland the same standard of Church and State as in England. The English Church must be placed in a position which would command respect, and the people must be encouraged to worship and constrained to be moral. He consulted Laud on the provision of fit clergy, and compelled the gentry to return to the Church a great deal of the property they had stolen. He built schools and rebuilt churches, and began to enforce the Elizabethan Acts as to attendance, fining those who habitually stayed away.

In the meantime he obtained grants of money in parliament, being able to command a majority by combining the government officials with one or other party, Roman-catholic, Anglican, or Presbyterian. The Irish parliament had never confirmed "The Graces," but Wentworth held out hopes that Charles would still maintain his offer, if parliament gave the required sums for the forces; they could not, he urged, expect his Majesty to come every year "with his hat in his hand to entreat that you would be pleased to protect yourselves." (1634.)

Having got the money he, first, resisted the Roman-catholic attempt to have Acts of Parliament made to continue those royal Graces which remitted the fines on peasants, then, the Romanists having made a kind of mutiny, he punished a number severely, and finally, himself, brought in Acts to continue "The Graces"—with one exception: the guarantee of the possession of land after sixty

¹ Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stewarts*.



SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH EARL OF STRAFFORD

(1593-1641)

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years' occupation was omitted. But Wentworth gave less protection to the Roman clergy than they had expected. He looked forward to a future when the friars and Jesuits might be excluded from the island: without them the Irish people, he said, "would be as good and loyal to their king as any other subjects." With a keen eye to the natural resources of Ireland, Wentworth took great pains, and expended his own resources, in creating a flax and linen industry, the origin of the celebrated Irish linen trade of later times. That he crushed out a newly begun woollen trade in the North, lest it should injure English trade and cause friction, was but in accordance with the standards of his time, and it did not injure the older and popular manufacture of Irish coarse cloth.

The Presbyterian clergy in the northern settlements of Ulster were not persecuted directly. But a political declaration was required of them which it was certain they would refuse. They were asked to swear that they held resistance to royal authority to be always wrong, and as most refused to do so they were deprived of their livings.

In the meantime, the 'mere Irish' (pure Irish) of Connaught were treated with gross injustice. When the plantation of Ulster had been made, Connaught had been left as an Irish preserve, and Charles had promised that the ownership of its barren or boggy acres should not be disputed. Wentworth believed that to plant a colony of English landowners over them would be a sure way to master and civilise the natives, and he proceeded, on a far-fetched antiquarian plea (that Charles I was the heir of Lionel, son of Edward III), to decree that either huge fines must be paid to register and secure the estates assigned to the Irish chiefs, or that the lands would be confiscated. Nor did the king intervene. This was a barefaced breach of the royal promise and a cruel injustice.¹

The Lord Deputy was as little particular about the course or form of justice as were his opponents about the truth or decency of their complaints. He confiscated the earl of Cork's ill-got gains at Youghal, but used a subterfuge to get him to surrender them quietly, in the expectation of mild treatment, in which he found himself disappointed. When Lord Mountnorris, a dishonest treasurer, inconvenienced by the reforms, refused either to obey or resign, insulted Wentworth and hinted that he should shortly meet the fate of Buckingham, Wentworth obtained royal authority to bring him before a court-martial and condemn him to death; he was then pardoned on condition of resigning his office. But Mountnorris complained with the fervour of a righteous man labouring under cruel injustice and had the craft to take his complaints to the enemies of Wentworth in England. The Deputy usually punished culprits by fines, and, with a mercifulness extraordinary in that time and country, never condemned any man to death; but his justice angered the great men, who agitated against

¹ The civil war prevented Wentworth from executing his plan.

him in England as a tyrant. All the corrupt, all the Presbyterians, and all the Roman-catholics nursed grievances against him and his government. At home, the City of London itself was, deservedly enough, arraigned for its bad management of its property in Ulster, and, with substantial justice but with doubtful legality, was deprived of it. As in many of his actions, Wentworth's justice benefited numbers who might or might not know their benefactor, but could never repay him, while the inflicting of it earned the ill-will of the powerful. The Deputy scorned to regard private enemies, bold in the conviction that he had a loyal force in his Irish army and navy and a protector in the king.

So long as Wentworth himself was in control of Ireland his system appeared to be succeeding. In writing to Laud, his short term for the State policy upon which they were agreed and which he believed Charles also approved, was "Thorough." Had he remained long enough to accustom a generation to his methods and to train up honest and inflexible rulers for the future it might, possibly, have become established, but as it was, his sudden removal left his unfinished structure to collapse almost like a house of cards.

In 1637, Wentworth, having shown that he could rule Yorkshire and Ireland, was called home by Charles to give the help of his clear brain to solve the Scottish problem, and after a brief visit to England, where he had to arrange for his own defence against legal charges brought by Irish malcontents, he returned to Ireland to prepare for the armed contest just about to begin in Scotland. Charles had created him earl of Strafford.

Strafford's reading of the situation was that the Scots must either be yielded to, or be promptly and remorselessly coerced. This could be achieved by gathering an army in England and reinforcing it with the highly trained but small Irish army. In both countries, parliaments must be held to provide funds, and while Charles in England summoned (the Short) parliament (1640), Strafford successfully obtained from the Irish parliament considerable subsidies and issued orders for the army to collect at Carrickfergus, whence the fleet should convey it to the British port selected. Then he hurried back to Yorkshire to take command.

But there the position was already past saving: "Pity me," he wrote to a friend, "for never came any man to so lost a business."

XXXI

THE THREE KINGDOMS IN TURMOIL (1639-1641)

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

IN the First Bishops' War, 1639, the whole advantage was with the Scots in their resistance to the royal despotism. Leslie was an able commander. He obtained more munitions from sympathetic Dutch merchants and brought over experts to cast large cannon, such as were well known on the continent (in the Thirty Years' War) but had not yet been seen in Great Britain. By a clever ruse he took Edinburgh Castle from the royal garrison, an operation with which every rising in the Scottish capital had to begin, while the earl of Montrose protected the Covenanters from the Episcopal and Roman-catholic party by baffling and imprisoning their leader, the marquis of Huntly, chief of the Gordons, in Aberdeenshire.

But there were the two leaders of the covenanting nobles, the earls of Argyll and Montrose, by tradition and circumstances rivals. Argyll, the greatest of the nobles in wealth and power and chief of the Campbells, was a serious Presbyterian and a prudent politician, and he might well hope to become the virtual ruler of Scotland, as the accepted patron of the powerful Presbyterian clergy. Montrose, however, the young and dashing chief of the Grahams, though by no means so powerful, had no intention of playing a secondary part either to Argyll or to Leslie, and he was popular among several clans who hated the Campbells.

This war of 1639 never came to a fight. Charles had collected unwilling recruits and led them to Berwick: Leslie faced him with his excellent troops drawn up on Dunse Law, not many miles away. But neither wished to begin bloodshed, and Charles thought it well to accept the rebels' demands and call a fresh Scottish parliament and General Assembly (Treaty of Berwick, June 1639). He was trying to adopt the advice given by Wentworth, to train the English troops before venturing a battle.

But the new Scottish parliament and Assembly simply repeated the Acts and demands of the previous year; the king again rejected their Acts abolishing episcopacy, and thereupon the Assembly, and, at its bidding, the Privy Council, ordered the oath to the Covenant to be subscribed by the entire Scottish nation.

As it was impossible for either Episcopalians or Romanists to

comply with this demand, the order practically sentenced the minority of the nation to outlawry or civil war, and roused, even among the Presbyterians, considerable indignation. Many men now beheld with resentment the despotic authority which was placed in the hands of the ministers and the presbyteries. The natural leader of this, the less fanatical section of the Scottish majority party, was the earl of Montrose, who had now made a personal acquaintance with the king, which much impressed him. Charles perceived that he was inclined to loyalty and promised him a marquissate and Montrose was really preparing to lead a reaction, while Charles was trying, in the meantime, to avoid either making concessions to or defying the Presbyterian majority too soon. In consequence, in the spring of 1640, Leslie was still training an excellent and well-provided army while the king had summoned to his side the earl of Strafford (as Wentworth is henceforth called).

Strafford saw that Scottish affairs had now reached a desperate crisis and he could only advise desperate measures. "The king," he said, "must either give way to the Scots, or else vigorously attack them." If Charles would not give way, and this he utterly refused to think of, then a state of war must be declared, the local levies of the northern English counties must be called out, and a parliament summoned to provide funds. The king and the earl both believed that in face of actual war on the Border the English parliament must behave according to the usual rule and vote supplies. It was one of the weakest features in Charles' system that he always expected his subjects to behave according to the technical rule—the letter of the law, so long as he himself used correct formulas, as if the conduct of government were a game of skill in which words won moves. It was of ill omen that the greatly respected earl of Northumberland, moderate and loyal, resigned his offices of general and admiral, and a proof of the king's ignorance of the characters of leading men that he should have named the puritan earl of Warwick as his successor in the admiralty.

Strafford himself hurried back to Ireland to obtain a grant of money from the parliament there and then returned to Yorkshire to offer to the king all the money he could personally raise and to take charge of the raw Yorkshire levies. He tried to bring the king to a decision: "Go on vigorously or let them alone," he urged in Council, adding, "You have an army in Ireland you may employ here to reduce this country."

But to decide rapidly was beyond Charles' capacity and he seemed more concerned with the recalcitrancy of the House of Commons in London than with the arms of the Scots.

The *Short Parliament* of 1640 had met, but it was in a frame of mind sympathetic to the Scottish Presbyterians. The members perceived that the king's need of money placed him at a dis-

advantage if the English Commons should raise stipulations for the liberties they claimed. Eminent among the members were Pym, Strode, Hampden, Hyde and Falkland.

The king was ready to give up ship-money and acknowledge the entire right of the Commons to control tonnage and poundage if they would in return make a grant large enough to pay an army able to beat the Scots. But the business of negotiating for the king with the leaders of the Houses was so much mismanaged that the Lords, who were desirous of helping the Crown, were driven into the arms of the Commons, and the latter, who did not mean to refuse supply altogether but intended to have concessions made upon religion first, were hopelessly offended.

The king had appointed as secretary in his Council, Sir Henry Vane ("old Sir Harry"), a jealous enemy of Strafford but for many years a courtier in the service of Charles, whom he had tricked into an extravagant grant of property by a deliberate falsehood. Vane had always a keen eye to his own advantage and subsequent events cast a deep suspicion on his loyalty. Either from stupidity (with which none of his contemporaries charged him) or by intention (which would amount to treachery), he carried out the royal instructions in such a manner as to give the Commons an impression that the king flatly refused to listen to them without a previous vote of the large sum of twelve subsidies. They showed their resentment, and the king then, in rash and foolish anger, suddenly dissolved the parliament (May 1640).

The Scottish army, having nothing to fear from the unpaid, ill-trained English levies now before them on the Border, and well aware that no further enemies need be looked for, advanced methodically into Northumberland (Second Bishops' War, 1640) and took up quarters in and around Newcastle, the royal troops at Newburn running away at the first opportunity.

The Scots expected active aid in England, and had invited the leading Opposition peers to join them. The peers (among them Essex, Manchester, Bedford and Warwick) had replied that they would not take 'treasonable' steps, but would stand by the Scots in a "legal and honourable" way. This did not satisfy the Scottish leaders, and Lord Savile, Wentworth's enemy, forged a letter, with the signatures of the English peers, which gave the pledge they desired.

Leslie could now ask the king to make a permanent settlement by yielding to the Scots on the basis of the Treaty of Berwick, and he required, also, as a powerful argument in favour of promptitude, that until the settlement should be signed the expenses of his troops should be paid, since, being technically victors in a foreign country, they were entitled to live at its expense, and they had no intention of retiring home till the new treaty should be actually made and published.

Charles was compelled to agree to everything. He called a

Great Council of peers to meet at York to advise him. Commissioners met at Ripon to draft the conditions (they removed to London later): Newcastle and the counties of Northumberland and Durham were to advance the money to Leslie, and a new English parliament had to be summoned to repay these costs. Early in November 1640 met the Long Parliament.

On the eve of the Short Parliament the leaders of the puritan party had foreseen an election and prepared for it. Pym, especially, organised among the principal county families and the corporations an agreement on the Members to be elected. In at least one county (Essex) the lord-lieutenant gave orders to the train bands (militia), and puritan ministers went on preaching tours. The small freeholders were much influenced by this, the first election campaign on record, and, for the first time in history, a compact *Party* emerged from the elections. We must, therefore, regard the majority in the Long Parliament as the first modern parliamentary *Party*.

The English parliament was in no hurry to pay off the Scots, perceiving that this nominally foreign army was its own protection against the Crown. With Leslie at Newcastle waiting for his money the king was helpless before the Houses, he could neither defy them nor dissolve. Accordingly, they began rapidly to execute the acts of reformation, self-defence and revenge upon which, in the past few months, their leaders had agreed, and only in the summer of 1641, after a series of revolutionary achievements,¹ did they even begin to provide the money necessary to pay off the two armies, English and Scottish. The troops then disbanded, the king went away from London to Edinburgh (August 1641), and the parliament had adjourned for a brief holiday when the news was received of the sudden outbreak of massacre in Ulster and the ensuing *Irish Rebellion* (October 1641), which startled England and Scotland into an abhorrence of the sister kingdom even more passionate than the hatred already entertained for them by the Irish.

IRELAND

The removal of Strafford's strong hand from Ireland had left his two deputies, a soldier and a speculator, in possession of power for just so long as the expectation of his return lasted. The plantation of Connaught was abandoned; the Roman-catholics were conciliated by negotiations for a royal tolerance, but the troops at Carrickfergus were neither paid nor taken to England and they began to desert, carrying their weapons with them. At the news of Strafford's impeachment (November 1640) all the disruptive forces in the island started into fresh life: if the Scots protected the Long Parliament, parliament protected Ireland against the Crown. But on the tidings of Strafford's death (May 1641) and the discovery in the

¹ See next chapter.

island that the king was helpless and that power was in the grip of the puritan parliament, the Roman-catholics of both races became desperate, the ruined gentry stirring up the hopeless peasants to fury. Then a wild plot of some obscure conspirators to seize the ministers and Dublin Castle was betrayed by a man who declared that all the English and the Protestants were to be massacred, and the Protestants became panic-stricken. All parties tried to arm as best they could, and a native plundering raid was made on the Scottish settlers in Ulster, which was stoutly resisted (October 1641). There followed a violent explosion of massacre and plunder in the other provinces. To drive out the Protestant settlers was the cry, but it was simply another term for slaughter, since there were no ships to carry them away, and the confusion of races and the threefold antagonism in religion made the quarrel cruelly indiscriminate.

(a) A few of the fortified towns in Ulster—Londonderry, Enniskillen and Carrickfergus—contrived to beat back the flood of savage Irishry from their walls, and next year the survivors were saved by a body of Scottish troops who came to defend their kindred. In gratitude, the Ulster men then took the oath to the Scottish Covenant, and bound themselves as firmly as they could to their mother country, protesting that if the king would take the Covenant they would loyally stand by him.

(b) But on the outbreak of civil war in England, the leaders of the Irishry protested that they also were royalist, hoping to obtain from the king such concessions for their religion as would secure, for him, monetary assistance from Rome, and for them, independence.

(c) The third Irish party, the Anglo-Irish of the ancient Pale, were by necessity and nature royalist, and fearing the northern Scottish party as being certainly puritan, and probably parliamentary, made a half-hearted alliance with the natives, whom they could not trust but with whom they must join politically, under the admonition of their priests and the Roman emissaries.

The earl of Ormonde, who was the natural leader of the Anglo-Irish Pale, tried to obtain an understanding with the king which would rally all the Anglo-Irish to his banner. Swayed by the queen, Charles could bring himself to offer tolerance to the Roman-catholics (*The Graces*), but the papal agents wanted a religious supremacy, such as the rebels would have proclaimed had they been successful, and no more than a permissive tolerance for the Protestants, and this it was impossible for Charles to grant. What he did grant, however, and all that he was erroneously reported to have granted, identified him, in the eyes of the English parliament, with the Irish Romanists, among whom the Puritans would never draw any distinctions, and it was not uncommonly asserted in England that the king himself had caused the hideous outbreak of massacre in Ireland, as if it had been directed against parliamentarians and confined to Presbyterians.

Thus the cross currents in the three kingdoms were producing entire confusion in thought and action. The Roman-catholics, in all three, had no choice but to support the king, from whom alone they might possibly, if he were victor, obtain tolerance. In consequence, his negotiations with them inflamed the terror and suspicions of the dominant parties in England and Scotland. The alliance of Presbyterian Scotland with Puritan England was natural, but there was a large body in England which disliked Presbyterian despotism, and if the English were to submit to this, to please the Scots, a reaction might be looked for.

Finally, the Scots had their own national pride and fully intended to maintain the particular ideal of monarchy they had now constructed (monarchy covenanted with Presbyterianism), and it seemed just possible that the different national antagonisms might be made use of by the king for his own benefit, if he only had the skill to break up the present union of parties. Such an attempt Charles did make more than once, considering it a reasonable diplomatic move towards recovering his inherent right of rule over his three kingdoms. But his negotiations were always betrayed to the English parliamentarians, who considered the king's efforts to negotiate with Scottish nobles, or, far worse, with Irish leaders, as acts of treachery to England.

XXXII

THE LONG PARLIAMENT (1640)

THE Short Parliament had been dissolved at the beginning of May 1640, the Long Parliament met in November. During the interval John Pym had concerted with the other leaders of Opposition a programme for securing not only the liberties of the individual, but the political and religious control of government for parliament.

Pym had long been in close connection with the peers who led Opposition to the Crown in the House of Lords :—Bedford, Warwick, Mandeville (Manchester), Essex, Saye, and Brooke. Bedford, the head of the numerous and very wealthy Russells, was very influential and had obtained for Pym from James I an important and profitable life appointment.¹ Pym was a leading business manager in the colonial and commercial schemes which these lords and some eminent City capitalists controlled, and as lawyer, manager and politician he commanded not only their entire confidence, but the enormous influence which they and their connections wielded in elections and local government. The other leaders in the House of Commons also believed in Pym : among them, St. John was his colleague in the affairs of the Russells, Alderman Barrington, the capitalist, his partner, Hampden his friend, and all three were cousins of Oliver Cromwell—the man of the future. There was, therefore, a compact party in both Houses which acted unanimously by Pym's counsel and could reckon on solid support among the gentry and from the principal merchants of London. All these had their connections in other towns and kept their party in these towns informed of political news and the party intentions.

The other members, in either House, had no such organisation. Lords or gentry, they assembled without a programme or leaders. Strafford, who to our eyes seems to be the one great man of the royalists, did not so appear to them, or rather, there was not yet a royal party, only a court and a number of ministers and officials who were not agreed together or under the control of any principal minister. Strafford was in Ireland and Archbishop Laud only occupied his bishop's seat in the Lords and had no superior official authority as minister.

¹ Receiver of Hants, Wilts and Gloucestershire. See Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, for interesting detail on parties.

It is, therefore, to the Puritans and Pym that we owe the formation of the first true parliamentary party, and it is evident that such a body had an enormous advantage in the Houses over any disconnected opposition. The first political club, too, appears at Pym's lodging close to Westminster Hall, where he and Hampden "maintained a table" for their friends, who daily arranged proceedings over their meals. This partly explains the promptness of the steps taken in the Houses.

What gave the Opposition its strength in the country was its combination of two principles: the passion for political freedom and the passion for Calvinist doctrine and system in religion. The former was a national characteristic against which royal authority would contend as vainly as a swimmer against the tide. Charles I had none of the Tudor skill in reading and using public opinion, he regarded it, rather, as contemptible. But it is probable that political agitation alone would have failed to stir up a general opposition to the Crown so long as the practical government remained tolerably efficient: it was religious enthusiasm which kindled the civil war. That national feeling which in Elizabeth's time had united all parties in defence of the country and defiance of foreign enemies had cooled when victory over Spain had removed the national danger, and religious zeal now took the first place. For a short time this religious fervour had meant sympathy and help for Protestants struggling abroad, but before the death of James I public interest had become narrowed to home questions. To the foreign Protestants who were still fighting for life and liberty in Rochelle, the Low Countries, or Germany, it seemed that King Charles, with his active fleet, was a better friend than the parliament men who drove Rochelle to capitulate because they would not pay taxes and left the gallant Palatine family in exile, dependent on the generosity of the Dutch.

The Puritans hardly formed a majority of the English nation, but they were a much more compact body than the rest. The Episcopalians, who devoted much more effort to worship and evangelising work than to controversy, could not organise such a solid or vehement support as the Puritans, who stoutly assumed that the bishops (being less ardently anti-Romanist than themselves) must be secret papists and habitually wrote and talked of them as such, as if it were a proved fact.

Few of the Acts, Protests or Ordinances of the Long Parliament omitted a statement on the designs of priests and Jesuits, the increase of Popery, the preparation of an Irish popish army, or the like, and all were printed as appeals to the public. Many members had assembled determined to make an end of independent royal government, and they were assured of their own power to do so by the curious train of events which had placed a victorious Scottish army in the northern counties to keep the Scottish king of England at the mercy of his English subjects. Not since the reign of King

John had an anti-royalist opposition been so beholden to the Scots.

The position was not without its drawbacks, for the Scots had written to France to negotiate with Louis XIII and their letters had been captured by the royal navy, so that Strafford had proofs of the negotiations of Pym and other leaders of the Commons with the Scots. To ally with rebels who were allied with a foreign government was high treason, and Strafford, when the king desired him to come to London, proposed to impeach the leaders of the Commons. But the queen's court knew all the royal secrets, and the chattering and intriguing lords and ladies who shared Henrietta Maria's favour were easy to dupe. Pym had organised an intelligence service and he knew the queen's secrets perfectly and so succeeded in striking first. Strafford was well aware of Pym's intentions, but Charles had pledged himself for his minister's safety. "Upon the word of a king," he had written to the earl, "you shall not suffer in your person, honour, or fortune."

Determined to leave no loophole to the sovereign, the Commons' plans were ready for impeaching and punishing those who had been his ministers during the eleven years of personal rule: these were Laud, Strafford, Finch—the Lord Chancellor, and Windebank—the Secretary. The last two fled in time, Laud remained calmly at his post, Strafford said, "I will go and look my accusers in the face," and did so.

Of Strafford the Commons entertained a curious terror. Though he had not been consulted by the king on English policy before 1637, but had been, till then, confined to his own departments of the North and Ireland, they nevertheless attributed to him the inspiration of the royal despotic government as well as the talent to maintain that government in the future. In their panic they disregarded both legality and justice. Sending word to the House of Lords that they were about to impeach the earl of treason, they begged that he might be immediately placed in custody, and this was done. The House of Lords, that is, imprisoned Strafford before any charge had been definitely made or any warrant issued, although such a proceeding on the king's part had been loudly denounced.

Pym, who led the impeachment, accused the earl of high treason, on the ground that he had "endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the realms of England and Ireland" and to introduce an arbitrary, tyrannical Government, and that he had advised the king to compel his [English] subjects to submission by armed force.

The idea that injury done to the nation could be called high treason (a crime which the laws of Edward III and Henry VIII recognised only as one against the sovereign) was less novel in fact than it was in terms, seeing that the favourite minister of Henry VI, as well as Wolsey and Cromwell, had been charged with treason. The real reason for such a charge was that the penalty was invariably

death. "Stone-dead hath no fellow," declared the puritan earl of Essex, the most popular peer in England. Nevertheless, much as a majority of the Lords disliked and dreaded Strafford, it soon became evident that they would not travesty justice by a decision flagrantly against the evidence, and the charge upon which the Commons chiefly relied, that Strafford had planned to bring the Irish army to attack England, rested upon evidence of very doubtful honesty.

Young Sir Harry Vane, son of Strafford's malignant enemy, old Sir Harry, and himself a leader of the most extreme political party—that which desired to set up a republic modelled on Holland and ancient Rome—announced that he had "accidentally" found among some papers (in which his father had desired him to search for a family record) some notes taken by his father of Strafford's counsel given in a Privy Council held at York during the Bishops' war. Privy Councillors were always sworn to secrecy and notes forbidden to be made, but no consideration of his father's perjury and breach of duty could hinder Vane from imparting to the Houses that the notes contained these words: "You have an army in Ireland you may employ here to reduce this country."

Pym declared these words to mean that the Irish army was to be used to coerce England: Strafford denied that he had ever advised bringing it to England. The obvious sense would appear to be that it might be used to reduce Scotland, since for that purpose the king's other troops were assembled and Strafford had been brought to York. Old Vane swore that the words had been spoken, but refused to say which kingdom was being discussed. The Lords then required testimony from four other councillors (contrary to their oaths), but they all declared they could recollect no such proposal, and Strafford reminded his judges that if he were condemned on such a charge no lord would ever dare to advise the Crown.

Setting aside this dubious evidence, the other counts against the earl were simply of high-handed conduct towards individuals. It was notorious that the earl of Cork (Boyle) and Lord Mountnorris in Ireland, Lords Eure and Savile in Yorkshire, and other powerful men had been offended and injured in pocket by Strafford's government. If any attention had been paid to the general effects of his deputyship in Ireland it would have been noted that the island was more orderly than it had ever been known to be, that commerce and revenue had increased and that no complaints came from the general public. He himself put the case of Ireland into a few clear words, not denying that he might have overstepped the bounds of English written law: "When I found a Crown and Church and People spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under that pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks, it costs warmer water than so." Who these spoilers (*i. e.* robbers) of king, religion and nation were Strafford did not say, nor was it necessary; from the despotism and rapacity of such great speculators as the Boyles, Ireland had been for a few brief years redeemed. But the English

Lords and Commons, totally unable to imagine a country and a society on a different system from their own, and, in any case, prone to ignore all classes but that to which they themselves belonged, were willingly impressed by the instigations of Strafford's personal enemies. Boyles, Vanes and Saviles had their own means of influencing opinion in parliament, and the accused earl, denied the help of a lawyer, obliged, ill as he was, to stand alone before the combined talent of the two Houses, was hardly likely to make appeals to their sympathy.

The king vainly endeavoured to persuade parliament to mercy by sending word that he was determined never to employ Strafford again, even in the meanest capacity, but the Commons had gone too far for a merely political penalty to serve. It was, however, certain that the House of Lords would not now find the earl guilty of treason, and the Commons, therefore, resorted to an Act of Attainder, the old weapon of the tyrannous times of Henry VIII and the party parliaments of the Yorkists, by which Strafford would simply be voted guilty of death. The king then thought of taking possession of the Tower, where Strafford was imprisoned; some foolish officers about the queen recommended bringing troops from the North—if they would come—to terrify parliament. But the custodians of the Tower had lately been named from the parliamentary side, to please the Commons, and they refused admission to the royal deputy when he appeared, while "the Army Plot," as it was called, was instantly betrayed by Goring to Pym and revealed by him in the House, so as to stir great indignation and some fright.

The Act of Attainder was quickly carried through its stages in the Commons; in the Lords there was more debate. But the London mob took a vehement interest in the case and daily collected round Westminster Hall, where the peers sat, shouting for Strafford's head, threatening and hustling men known to be against the death penalty and exhibiting a placard of their names as "traitors." Some of the peers stayed away, others would not vote, and so the attainder passed by a majority of twenty-four. The Act had finally to receive the royal assent, which Charles at first refused. The armed mob was now of great service to Pym's cause, it thronged day and night round Whitehall, totally uncontrolled, for there were no troops, and the mayor of Westminster was powerless, had he wished to interfere. The ringleaders loudly threatened that unless they had Strafford's head they would drag the queen and her mother from the palace. Quite erroneously, they fancied that Henrietta Maria, always deeply unpopular, must be Strafford's protectress, and the presence of her mother, the French queen-dowager, gave additional offence to the populace and additional anxiety to the king. There was now no resolute mind at court, and Charles asked advice from several judges and bishops. Two bishops, Juxon and Ussher, urged him to hold firmly by justice and his conscience, the others represented that in any case the Houses

would execute Strafford and that the public crisis militated against absolute justice and required a *cautious wisdom*: which meant the sacrifice of the minister to avoid revolution. Strafford himself wrote to desire the king to assent to the Act of Attainder, "for the preventing of such massacres as may happen by your refusal," since he himself was the "unfortunate block" to an agreement between king and parliament. Charles, in great agitation, declared, doubtless truly, that he would never have saved his own life by sacrificing the earl but that he could not see his wife and children in the hands of the mob, and on a third demand from parliament he despairingly yielded. "My lord Strafford's condition is more happy than mine," he said.

"Put not your trust in princes nor in any child of man," said the earl resignedly when he was told to meet death within two days. Vindictive to the end, the keepers of the Tower refused to allow him to see his friend Laud, who was imprisoned in a neighbouring room. He could only send a message, and as he was led out to execution, on May 12th, the old archbishop contrived to watch from his window and stretch out his hands between the bars in blessing.

On the scaffold Strafford spoke to the nearest ranks of the crowd. He declared that he had never planned any tyranny, such as he was accused of, and asked whether, if they sought more liberty, it was well that "the beginning of the people's happiness should be written in letters of blood"?

As he turned to the block he added, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this hour as ever I did when I went to bed."

It was not the people, in the modern sense of the term, who had insisted upon this judicial murder. The revenge of Pym and of certain powerful families and interests, and the panic terrors of the puritan political party, were the real causes of Strafford's destruction. Those who had found in his strong administration a protection against their local aristocratic tyrants were voiceless and far away. Strafford was the last effective statesman, for many generations, who regarded the rights of the mass of the population as a proper concern of government. Except for the London mob, which had proved itself a dangerous, but useful tool, the poor were henceforth to be unheard and disregarded for nearly two centuries by the classes who held political power.

As soon as the death of Strafford (May 10, 1641) had removed the dread which the Commons and the Londoners entertained of finding an Irish army mysteriously arrived to massacre them, a series of Acts intended to secure the aims of the Houses was rapidly completed.

(1) The Triennial Act (February 1641) secured the election of a parliament at least every three years. The present parliament was not to be dissolved without its own consent. (May, 1641.)

(2) The Star Chamber, High Commission Court, Council of the North, Council of Wales and Court of the Stannaries were abolished.

(3) Distrainment of Knighthood, Purveyance, Crown rights lately asserted over forest-land, control of manufacture of gunpowder by the Crown, were abolished, without any compensation for the loss of old rights and safeguards or any provision of new revenue in lieu of the income now stripped from the Crown and transferred automatically to the pockets of landowners and capitalists.

(4) The royal claim to levy (a) ship-money, (b) tonnage and poundage, (c) to impose rates on exports and imports, was declared to be against the laws, and the Judges who had pronounced for the Crown in recent lawsuits, as well as all the officials who had been collecting the duties since 1628, were condemned to pay very heavy fines.

Besides these Acts, to which the king had to signify his consent and thus agree that his own past proceedings had been illegal, the Houses took steps to regulate the religion of the nation by Acts and by addresses (or *protests*) to the king. (a) They declared that certain canons recently passed by Convocation for observance by the clergy were null and void, thus asserting that the parliament of the clergy was not competent to bind the clergy: (b) the Commons also issued a protest against popery which implied that the king was intending to coerce the kingdom by English and Irish troops, and drew up for themselves an oath—lengthy and complicated—to bind themselves to defend Protestantism and peace. (c) They ordered a parliamentary commission to visit churches, to destroy ‘monuments of superstition,’ cut down altar rails, level chancels, and, in brief, reduce the national houses of divine worship to as close copies as possible of Dutch or Scottish models. (d) A Bill was brought into the Commons to exclude the bishops from the House of Lords.

With regard to the abolitions of the Courts and the absolute vesting of all taxation in parliament, both Houses were in accord. But it was otherwise with measures touching each House separately. The peers did not sympathise with the suspension of the royal power to dissolve parliament, *i. e.* the House of Commons, and they resented the unheard-of interference of the Lower House in the question of Episcopal votes in their own House. To avoid a breach over this point, the more puritan members of the Commons substituted a Bill for the total abolition of bishops, and therefore of the entire Church system, called the *Root and Branch Bill* (May 1641), from which dates the first serious division within the reforming ranks.

Another cause of ill-feeling between the Houses arose from a novel step taken by them during their own prorogation of appointing a Committee of each House to continue in London. The peers confined the activities of their Committee to the simple duty of keeping a record and maintaining intelligence, which was the original purpose of the Committees. But the Commons invested their delegates with wider executive powers than the House itself had ever been in the habit of using. Their Committee was directed to prepare proceedings against individuals who had been complained

of in the House (they were termed *delinquents*); to send orders to sheriffs and justices if any tumults arose; to investigate the officers of the revenue and the fisheries (*i. e.* all the coasts) "of England, Scotland and Ireland" (meaning the control of the ports), and a number of equally important matters. In short, the *Commons' Committee* was a kind of cabinet which immediately began to exercise the functions of a supreme government, to the dismay of the Lords, and to the indignation of many a locality which suddenly found the orders of the Committee, or of a single commissioner deputed by it, superseding the wonted customs of local or national jurisdiction.

At the same time the report of the *Commons' Committee on Religion* was printed and published, condemning ornaments, music, etc., in churches, a decision which encouraged a great deal of pillage and destruction at the hands of private persons. This Committee discovered a simple way of enforcing its ecclesiastical policy. Clergymen who did not carry out all its orders in their churches were summoned, if anyone informed against them, to appear before the Committee, which had no legal power to punish or to suspend them, but, by daily adjourning the interview to next day could, and did, keep them indefinitely in London; in the meantime, puritan lecturers were sent to their parishes, who carried out the parliamentary orders and preached against the Church system.

However summary and, in detail, unjust the proceedings of the Long Parliament may have been, it must be recognised that the destruction of the exceptional courts and of obsolete rights and powers of the Crown had been rendered inevitable by the habit of James and Charles of using them to increase royal revenues and jurisdiction at the expense of the public, rather than for the benefit of the public. The way had to be cleared for a more modern system of governance than that of the Tudor age, now passed far away.

James and Charles had followed the tendency of continental governments in trying to extend royal authority. They had not seen, what the Tudors knew, that the wider liberty and greater intelligence enjoyed in England made it necessary for royal authority to be in unison with national feeling. Something, also, was due to unfortunate personal characteristics. In that emotional and outspoken epoch the garrulity of James, who talked so much more than he acted, was probably felt to be more natural than the silent doggedness of Charles, whose slow speech and occasional stammer betrayed the uncertainty of his judgment and his reluctance to reveal his intentions. In a watchful and suspicious age, unexpressed aims were assumed to be bad ones. The disappearance of Buckingham, voluble and extravagant, had cleared the field for the more dangerous efforts of the king himself and his resourceful but too obedient legal ministers. Their successes during the years 1628-1639 proved the necessity for subjecting ministers to parliamentary control, but that no method save executions could yet be found exhibits the hastiness of the defenders of liberty, whose views were

so limited as to permit them to resort to the cruelties of a past age for their own protection. Their abolition of the great courts, which had done, and were still doing, most useful public work, and of royal rights which had once produced easily a considerable revenue, in both cases without providing any substitute, exhibits the same haste and want of attention to the future and suggests a determination to grasp power and profit for themselves and their own class at the expense of both Crown and people.

The House of Lords would have preferred a less sweeping denial of royal prerogative, so as to leave a power available in future crises : nor did it like the arrogation by the Commons of authority to deal directly and in detail with the Church and with individuals. An arbitrary committee directed by Pym might be no wiser or fairer than the Privy Council directed by a minister. But already the peers found themselves inferior in power to the Lower House and were afraid to oppose it.

While the king was still absent in Scotland came the tidings of the Irish Rising (October 1641) and a rumour of a supposed plot in Scotland (*The Incident*), now known to have been devised by Montrose against his rival Argyll and the intriguing royalist marquis of Hamilton, but believed then to be a plot directed by the king against the Presbyterians. Parliament reassembled in London with the horrors of popish massacres ringing in its ears, and Pym and the other extreme leaders resolved to appeal for national protection and help against the violence which the king, as they assumed, perfidiously intended against the Houses by means of some mysterious force unseen and unknown.

England was now, however, without any army. The northern levies had been disbanded when the king set out for Scotland (August 1641), and the Scottish army had at the same time returned to its own country, its coffers crammed with English subsidies. But the London populace was possessed by one of the wild panics characteristic of this century, and Pym, the master of the Commons and the darling of the Londoners, found the moment opportune for a demonstration which should rally round the puritan party such strong support as would ensure a practically republican supremacy in the country, and make any reconciliation with the king impossible.

This appeal, called the *Grand Remonstrance*, took the form of a long recital (206 clauses) of the illegal or unconstitutional acts of the king (as regarded by the Commons) since his accession, a statement of the reforms procured by parliament and of the steps still to be taken, which included the appointment of counsellors in whom parliament could trust (*i. e.* a parliamentary ministry) and the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords. It ascribed all past wrongs and grievances to a malignant faction which was aiming at the establishment of Romanism and had secured the royal confidence and abused all the means of government.

It was hardly possible to insult and defy the king more plainly,

or more definitely to intimate a further persecution of officials and ministers. Already Strafford, Laud, Finch and a number of other prominent men were dead, in exile or in prison.

The *Remonstrance* had the effect of detaching a large number of members from Pym's following. Some held its statements to be unjust, many considered them unnecessary and unwise. To vote for the *Remonstrance* was to declare a kind of implacable war upon the king. Just as Strafford had considered that the *Petition of Right* secured the liberties of the nation sufficiently, so now many members considered that the sweeping Acts lately passed secured parliamentary government sufficiently, and they were indignant at Pym's decision to treat the king as a public enemy. After a fierce debate, which continued from nine in the morning until after midnight, and was interrupted sometimes by threats of violence, those who had not succumbed to exhaustion put the entire *Remonstrance* to one vote : it was carried by the small majority of eleven, and Pym then carried another vote that it should be printed and distributed in order to appeal to the public against the king.

This debate and the outburst of rage on both sides in which it closed marks the real beginning of the Civil War. Hitherto the struggle had been one of opposed principles. The principle of a central authority in the hands of a monarch, responsible, not to the nation, like a minister, but to his own conscience and to God, was set against the principle of a supreme parliament deciding in the name of the nation. The principle of the National Church, the living product of ages, was opposed by the principle of a Calvinist fresh construction of Christianity, and the alliance of the two historical principles and the two innovating principles gave to the struggle the appearance of a revolt of popular interests against repressive authority, to an extent which became misleading. So long, however, as the struggle remained parliamentary, time might possibly permit a solution or a compromise to be found.

But an appeal to force immediately introduced some practical considerations which became more urgent than principles. Munitions, money, numbers in the field, military skill, were to decide between monarchy and republicanism, between Church and Puritanism, and this form of decision abolished moderation. No middle course was henceforth possible; of two sides every man must choose one. In consequence many who had been of the party of Eliot and Pym against the claims of a divine-right monarchy, or the 'thorough' ministry of Laud and Strafford, would not trust to the lot cast on a battlefield to provide a better kind of government. The old form of constitution and the ancient Church had claims on their loyalty and their common sense stronger than any which the devotees of an omnipotent House of Commons could frame. Better the old monarchy and Church, despite their faults, than unknown new conditions.

In the extreme party were most of Pym's followers, St. John the

grim and implacable, Hampden the genial and popular, the outspoken Holles and Strode, and Holles' cousin Cromwell, who confided to Falkland that had the *Remonstrance* not passed he would have sold all he possessed and never seen England more. He had apparently thought of emigrating to America before. The moderates included Hyde, Culpepper, Verney, Capel (who had moved in the Long Parliament to consider grievances before granting supplies) and Falkland.

But the majority party had the support of the Londoners, who displayed great violence. The mob broke into Westminster Hall (where the Lords sat), shouting threats: it tried to plunder the Abbey, and when driven away vowed to return with more help and pull it down. The bishops, on their way, were roughly hustled and the archbishop of York nearly killed. Members of the Commons believed to have voted against the *Remonstrance* were assaulted, rioters arrested by the City constables were rescued and the Lord Mayor and his police abused. The Lords, in a perfectly legal manner, caused some constables to be placed to guard the doors of both Houses. The Commons, however, dismissed theirs at once, some of the members saying that it was a time "when they must make use of all friends," and Pym urging that "the people" must not be "disheartened" by any such precautions.

The king had now come to Whitehall, at the request of the City, but the continual tumult outside the palace and the insults hurled at members of the court enraged some of the latter to the point of driving the mob off with blows. Hereupon the Commons expressed great indignation at the brutal conduct of the courtiers, and almost as much at the brutal words of the commander of the Lords' guard, who had contrived to frighten a mob away by loudly giving an order to prepare to fire.

Such conduct and such language soon ranged men of various shades of opinion and feeling in one or other of two definite parties, royalists or parliamentarians. The servants of the king and all who were suspected of being opposed to the Commons were termed by the Commons *malignants*, or by others *Cavaliers*; the popular party, from their closely cut hair, received from the Cavaliers the name of *Roundheads*.

The latter were the quicker in action. At the end of the year 1641 they took a step of revenge in the impeachment and arrest of all the bishops then in London on a charge of high treason, because they had entered a protest (as members of the House of Lords were entitled to do) against the Acts passed by that House during their enforced absence. Had the Houses ever re-assembled in their ordinary numbers this protest might have caused a reconsideration of several recent and revolutionary Acts. But the intention to punish the bishops for being bishops was hardly disguised: they were not tried, but left in prison without bail in spite of the Petition of Right (which bound the King but not the Houses).

In the rest of England opinion and feeling were more equally divided than in London, and if the king could but have trusted the Moderates, a strong constitutional party might perhaps have been formed. But Charles was devoid of any parliamentary instinct, and his next blunder gave the party of Pym a powerful argument and rallied to him again many who had been shocked by the *Remonstrance* and the maltreatment of the bishops, and whom Hyde might otherwise have rallied to the king. In spite of the mobs, Charles clung to the delusion that by some conventional formula he could exhibit Right and Law on his own side and that he would then obtain control of parliament; so four days after the arrest of the bishops (January 1642), hearing that Pym proposed to impeach the queen, he set out in person to superintend the impeachment of Pym and his principal adherents for treason, having, in fact, evidence of their treasonable negotiations with the revolted Scots and with foreigners for assistance against the king. Probably in no form would any charge against the eminent leader of the House and idol of the Londoners have received attention. "King Pym," as the mob shouted round him, strong in the powerful support of the City, its corporation, merchants and mob alike, could use the forms of impeachment to inflict imprisonment and punishment, if he chose. The king, having no equally strong support, could not. On this occasion of *the arrest of the Five Members*, as it is called, his personal appearance in the House, and with a body of guards, was so contrary to custom as to put him in the wrong. The six persons whom he accused (Lord Kimbolton, formerly Mandeville, in the Upper House, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Holles, and Strode, in the Lower) had received warning and had gone to the City, where they were safe. Speaker Lenthall, questioned by the king, asserted the modern view of the Speaker's position, as no longer a royal servant, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the accepted view (save for Sir Thomas More), but as having "neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me." The king could only look round the silent House, say that his *birds were flown* and that he expected they should be sent to him. Then, going away, he could hear the shouts of the members behind him: "Privilege, privilege!" "To your tents, O Israel!" shouted a voice in the angry crowd outside.

This attempt to seize the five members, and an attempt to get control of the Tower, showed clearly enough that Acts of Parliament and popular demonstrations were alike futile against the king's determination. No undertaking seemed to him to be valid if it set aside his prerogative, nor would threats or disasters either warn or intimidate him. If the Grand Remonstrance was the Commons' declaration of war, the foiled arrest was the king's, and thenceforth both sides proceeded to action. The city provided a guard for the Commons and invited them to sit at the Guildhall. The king left London for Hampton Court, and despatched the queen to Holland

with jewels to obtain munitions and engage troops. Until she reached the continent he continued to accept the requests of the Houses, *e.g.* for the exclusion of the bishops from parliament, which the Lords themselves now asked. But when Henrietta Maria was safely in Holland, Charles set out for the North, where he established the chief court of justice and a ministry, and refused to assent to the *Militia Bill*, whereby parliament transferred to themselves the control of all the troops and military appointments and places.

Such a Bill was but a form to cover action already taken, for the Lords had sent their own orders already to Hotham, the governor of Hull, which was stocked with munitions, and Hotham chose to obey the Houses and refused to admit the king, and thus secured to the parliament a great advantage by an overt act of rebellion. At the same time Pym caused an armed inspection of the houses of the gentry of Kent, known as a royalist county, and confiscated their weapons, horses and stores, many houses being plundered and persons injured by local mobs. At Colchester the local magnate, Sir J. Lucas, had collected arms and horses to convey to the king when a great mob took him prisoner and sacked his house and that of a wealthy papist lady.

A majority of the officials of the kingdom preferred to obey the parliament rather than the king, for during the last few years Charles had often made appointments to please the Commons. In the military preparations which ensued, the Houses were able to act through the lords-lieutenants, who in most counties were Puritans, and raised troops for them. They could pay the troops out of the taxes and customs, for the authorities of nearly all the towns and ports were on the parliamentary side, and London by itself was wealthier than all the rest of the kingdom. The king had chiefly to rely upon the voluntary offerings of those lords and gentry who chose to throw in their lot with him rather than abet the usurpation of all powers by the parliament, more especially the Commons. In July parliament named the earl of Essex 'captain-general.' In August Charles set up his standard and camp at Nottingham, the key of the Trent and the northerly roads. He had a larger following than, perhaps, could have been anticipated by those who had followed only the parliamentary proceedings. There were numbers of men who had taken no share in parliamentary affairs who were profoundly distressed and extremely puzzled by the irreconcilable spirit exhibited in London, while the revolutionary temper which seemed to inspire the fierce attacks upon the Church and upon a large part of the ordinary machinery of government, as well as the outbursts of mob violence, were viewed with much apprehension.

It seemed that the stern and narrow puritan conscience which had, under Elizabeth, made religious and political 'reformation' the topics of preaching and prayer, printing and committee-work

—which in Scotland had long since claimed that the Assembly of the Kirk should admonish and teach king and parliament—which had, under James, endeavoured to undermine the Church system by means of agitation, had now devised a deliberate reconstruction of the national plan of government in order to establish those alterations of the Church at which they still aimed. The real cases of arbitrary royal action, or of episcopal harshness, had not been very numerous. Indignation had been roused less by any personal hardships than by a perception of the increased power which the Crown would possess if these cases passed unchallenged, and since there was a larger public bent on defending personal liberties than was anxious to enforce religious innovations, the puritan struggle, which had at first been mainly a religious movement, now rapidly developed into a mainly political movement.

The leaders of the Commons now formally claimed almost the whole power of government for themselves. While the king was at York, they proffered to him *Nineteen Propositions*, as a kind of ultimatum, which denied to the sovereign the exercise of any authority without approval of parliament, even as to the education of the royal children, foreign policy, the Church, and all appointments to offices. Charles rejected these terms at once. Next, an oath of fidelity to the parliamentary government was voted, and the member for Plymouth, a Trevelyan, who refused to take it, was imprisoned (like Eliot) till he should submit, and (like Eliot) remained staunch till he died in prison.

The proclamations which the Houses addressed to the public, drawn up by the Commons, regularly began with statements that the king was levying war upon the parliament, was influenced by "the bloody counsels of papists" or that he designed to deliver this kingdom into the hands of papists. A general terror of papistry appears to have been reckoned upon as a motive force among the masses.¹

Already some of the methods of the parliament were felt to be alarming by men such as Selden, who cherished liberty. Gentlemen of Kent who brought a petition against some puritan innovations in certain churches had been sent to prison. The Commons were elected on a very narrow franchise and they represented not the whole but, rather, a section of the well-to-do gentry and the merchants. Their organisation and their control of the acting officials gave them power, not the existence of a "large majority" in any modern sense.

It was hard indeed when men must choose between a royal or a parliamentary despotism, an episcopal or a puritan intolerance. Some whose consciences took them to the king's banner, sighed, like Falkland and Verney, that they cared little for bishops, about

¹ e.g. in 1642—"Whereas it appears that the King seduced by wicked counsel intends to make war upon his Parliament," etc.; or, "The cunning practice of Papists . . . inciting his Majesty to raise men, etc."

whom they thought all this quarrel had arisen : some whose consciences took them to the parliament's army were reverent and dutiful sons of the Church. But the wise and moderate were few and could not hope to make a peace between two such divergent parties. The issue of the struggle would depend on the mass of men who were not learned, far-seeing and able to weigh and moderate, but who saw only a single issue, and the judicious despaired. Falkland practically threw his life away; Selden retired into privacy.

It must be remembered that no idea of an 'agreement to differ' was as yet dreamed of. The King and the Church could not imagine it possible for him to recognise Bishops in England and Presbyteries in Scotland. "Episcopacy orthodox in England, heretical in Scotland—Lord have mercy on my soul!" cries a Scottish nobleman, as of an impossibility.

XXXIII

CIVIL WAR (1642-1649)

THE parliament had the better resources for a long war, the king was more promptly ready, and with better troops. Had he possessed the determination as well as the mind of a general, he might perhaps have defeated the parliament on the outbreak of hostilities. But he seldom had the resolution to enforce his own policy in the face of opposition in his family or council, and he was beset by the rival appeals of men jealous of each other; in trying to offend none he divided the command among four or five, whom he was unable to control, while the personal faults of his nephews, Rupert and Maurice of the Palatinate, sons of the Princess Elizabeth, ruined far more royalist chances than their military talents procured.

The king set up his standard at Nottingham (August 22, 1642), but soon removed to Shrewsbury as a better centre for the western gentry who, from Lancashire to Devon, heartily supported him. The country interest generally was royalist, the manufacturing interest parliamentary. The king, that is, had the support of the larger part of the population, but the parliament that of the richer part. Most of the peers, including many who had opposed Charles' arbitrary acts in the House, gave up the constitutional battle when war began and joined the king at Shrewsbury or Oxford. The fleet, under the earl of Warwick, declared for Parliament, which also held the principal ports and therefore could both keep out the king's recruits and munitions from abroad, and collect the customs. Their good revenue in the end gave them victory in the field.

The decisive point was London. If the king could take and keep it, he had won. Well aware of this, he set out from Shrewsbury in the autumn of 1642, intending to disregard Essex, who had marched westwards hoping to meet the royal army before it could reach the capital. The king outmarched Essex and had reached the long rise of ground lying north-west of Oxford and Banbury which commands the approaches from Worcester and Gloucester, when he learned that Essex had turned and was now behind him round about Stratford-on-Avon. Charles faced round upon him on the steep ridge of Edgehill, but Essex succeeded in tempting the cavaliers down from their post of vantage. Rupert's cavalry drove victoriously through, but beyond, their objective, and wasted them-

selves in pursuit and looting. It was typical of the usual failure of the royalist commanders, but the onward march was continued.

In a second fight, at Brentford, the royalists were more successful, but the defeated army rallied, and the London "trained bands" joined them and covered London at Turnham Green, close to Chiswick, where the Londoners promptly supplied them with rations. The king, always anxious to avoid bloodshed, could not bring himself to attack the Londoners, and when he found them arrayed, ordered a retreat to Oxford, his headquarters, for the winter. Next year both sides had several small forces in the field, because in each district men feared their neighbours too much to leave their homes unprotected. The fortified ports of Hull, Bristol, Gloucester and Plymouth being held for the parliament, the garrisons used to raid the country round, and in consequence local fighting went on in all those districts. The Yorkshire gentry (a testimony to the local pacification under Strafford) set on foot an agreement with each other to be neutral, but parliament disallowed it.

The importance of the London *trained bands* was great, for they were the only infantry really disciplined and accustomed to use their weapons. The trained bands and militia of other towns and counties were levies bound to be trained when called up, therefore totally unskilled at the beginning of their service. The London citizens, being responsible for keeping the city orderly, had long preferred to pay permanent soldiers and had a regular depôt at the *Artillery Gardens* in Bishopsgate. Their commander, Skippon, became a principal general of the parliamentary forces.

Shakespeare's description of Falstaff's militia men¹ is doubtless a picture from life. Gun-fire was then so cumbrous that even trained infantry probably did little execution. Each man carried a forked stick, on which to prop the end of his heavy musket when firing, and as there were not yet any handy matches, a man in each company carried a light from which the others could kindle their own lengths of match. The wet tinder-box is a potent source of trouble in history and romance for the next two centuries. It followed that the cavalry was the more important arm and it was the good horses and riders of the royalists which gave the king his early advantages.

In 1643, of the parliamentary armies, (a) Essex's men, ill-paid and sickly, suffered a rout, with the loss of Hampden, at Rupert's hands, at Chalgrove near Oxford (June); (b) Fairfax was beaten by Newcastle at Adwalton Moor (June); and (c) Waller at Roundway, by Rupert (July); (d) only Cromwell, having helped to create the Eastern Counties Association² and in command of its excellent horse, won a fight at Gainsborough (July), defeated Newcastle's advanced guard at Winceby (October), and drove his forces

¹ 1 *Henry IV.* Act IV. sc. ii.

² Cambs, Hunts, Herts, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk.

from the siege of Hull. Too late, the king perceived that the distant ports were of secondary importance, and broke off his siege of Gloucester (September) to make for London. Essex caught him up at Newbury (September 20), where Rupert again made the royalist army lose the advantages of an excellent position in order to attack the enemy. He had such severe losses (including that of Lord Falkland), that the king withdrew once more to Oxford. Up to this time the loyal offerings of such wealthy families as the Cavendishes and Herberts, or the plate of colleges and gentry, had supplied Charles with funds, and the Cavaliers could still raise well-horsed companies at their own expense. But a year and a half of unsuccessful war set the parliament hard tasks. Money had to be obtained by severe taxes, including a kind of income tax levied as a monthly assessment, and an excise duty on salt, while the Eastern, Northern and Midland Associations had raised large funds for the equipping and pay of the pressed men, who usually made but poor soldiers. The counties, throughout the war, had to pay heavy assessments, out of which the local charges for military matters were defrayed before the London treasury received the balance.

Cromwell's description of his own difficulties is typical. He wrote to a friendly member of parliament, to try to obtain pay for his men :

"Many of my Lord of Manchester's troops are come to me; very bad and mutinous, not to be confided in; they paid to a week almost; mine noways provided for to support them, except by the poor sequestrations of the county of Huntingdon. My troops increase, I have a lovely company; you would respect them did you know them. They are no Anabaptists [*i. e.* *Anarchists*]; they are honest, sober Christians; they expect to be used as men. The £3000 allotted to me, I cannot get the part of Norfolk nor Hertfordshire; it was gone before I had it. I have minded your service to forgetfulness of my own and Soldiers' necessities. I desire not to seek myself. I have little money of my own to help my soldiers. My estate is little. I tell you the business of Ireland and England hath had of me, in money, between eleven and twelve hundred pounds, therefore my private can do little to help the public. You have had my money. I hope in God I desire to venture my skin. So do mine. Lay weight on their patience but break it not. . . . I believe £500 is due. . . .

"Pray for your true friend and servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The earl of Manchester was at the same time complaining that Colonel Cromwell had taken all his best cavalry and that he was left with only raw Essex levies, who, "if they cannot have arms and pay are far more dreadful to me than any enemy whatsoever."

Under these circumstances, the earl of Essex urged negotiations with the king, and Pym had some difficulty in stiffening the determination of the House. The London mobs were now clamouring for peace; a plot was discovered (or rather betrayed, by Waller, the poet) to kill the Lord Mayor and his officers and bring in the king, and a mob of women surrounded the House of Commons crying out

that they would throw Pym into the river for obstructing a treaty. Nearly three-quarters of the country was under the king's control. Men were unwilling to enlist for the parliament, which could only fill the gaps in Essex's ranks by proclaiming that apprentices who would enlist might count their time in the army as that to which their masters were legally entitled.¹ Charles, on the other hand, was getting a little help from his French, German and Dutch connections, and, to the great indignation of the Puritans, had obtained some troops from Ireland, through the earl of Ormonde. Pym therefore looked for military assistance outside the kingdom and urged that the Commons might obtain it from Scotland. Fighting in the pay of a foreign government was a favourite profession with Scottish gentlemen. It was held honourable and known to be profitable. Their last experience of the English as paymasters was highly satisfactory, and it was true enough that if Charles defeated the Puritan Parliament he would be sure to turn next upon the Presbyterian Assembly. In the common cause of religion, a Scottish army, led by David Leslie (nephew of the veteran lately made by Charles earl of Leven), was very ready to undertake the fighting if the Commons would undertake to pay £30,000 a month; all that was necessary besides was an oath of adherence to the *Solemn League and Covenant*. This was a most unwelcome step to the majority of the House, where it was openly declared that a modified episcopacy would be better. But on Pym's insistence parliament submitted, added an extension of the *Covenant* to Ireland (September 1643), and convened an Assembly at Westminster to arrange the establishment of Presbyterianism in England, where Selden proved a disconcerting coadjutor to the Presbyterian divines. Soon after, the great leader of the Commons, Pym, died, and there was no single leader who could take his place. He and Hampden had been the most trusted by the party of resistance to the king, and their death left the lead to be disputed between those members who were strictly bent upon ideal republicanism, such as St. John and Vane, and those more intent upon practical, and particularly military victory, such as Cromwell. The government and the war were in the hands of a parliamentary *Committee of Both Kingdoms*, so that the depletion of the two Houses made little difference.

The year 1644 opened, therefore, with changes in persons and armies. The king convened parliament to meet him at Oxford (January–March, 1644), and thither came one-third of the Commons and a great majority of the Lords, who were alienated by the prospect of a Scottish dictation to England and Ireland upon religion. One proof of this dictation was the renewed attack in the London parliament upon Laud, who had now been four years in prison. At the demand of the Westminster Assembly and the vindictive Prynne his impeachment was at last begun. The

¹ The masters would bear the loss.

Commons put forward the charge of 'cumulative treason' which they had before levelled at Strafford; meaning that, though no one action of the archbishop was treasonable, the number of complaints against him amounted to treason. "This is the first time," said the bold lawyer who ventured to plead for him, "that ever I heard that a thousand black rabbits did make one black horse." It was soon clear that the fourteen peers still sitting at Westminster would not give the verdict of guilty. But Prynne procured the substitution of an Act of Attainder, as had been done in Strafford's case, and a mob was easily raised to petition and shout for the Archbishop's death, as a specimen of public opinion. The vote of condemnation was a foregone conclusion. But as the old man stood upon the scaffold the crowd around listened attentively while he preached to them his last sermon. At the close he declared that he was innocent of the plot he was accused of, to bring Romanism into the Church. Then, laying his head upon the block, "Lord, I am coming as fast as I can," he said, and uttered a brief prayer before the blow fell (January 1645).

The war, in 1644, was beginning to assume almost the aspect of a contest of classes. Most of the peers had joined the King, as well as a large number of country gentry and yeomen, who were not puritan enough to wish to alter the Church radically or at the cost of revolution. For the Parliament stood a handful of peers, a considerable number of gentry, chiefly in the eastern and south-eastern counties, and nearly all the towns. The gentlemen of the northern, western and south-western counties were for the most part royalist, but here also the manufacturing towns, from Bristol to Manchester, were puritan and parliamentary.

The king's skilful repulse of Waller, at Cropredy, and his pursuit of Essex into Cornwall, where the parliamentary army capitulated at Lostwithiel, affected the issue but little, owing to the gross breach of the capitulation. Anxious, as usual, to avoid bloodshed, and hoping to conciliate London, the trained bands whereof formed most of the troops, Charles had simply placed the surrendering soldiers (Essex having fled to London by sea) on parole not to fight against him again and allowed them to take ship for London without hindrance. Once there, the men were persuaded to re-enlist in a fresh army, on the pretext that the parole was taken from an army now disbanded and could not apply to a new one.

Rupert's triumphs in Lancashire and even at York were equally unavailing, for the junction of the Scottish army with that under Fairfax and Cromwell made the combined forces of Rupert and Newcastle greatly inferior, both in numbers and generalship, and the battle of Marston Moor (July 1644) was a crushing defeat to the royalists, due partly to Cromwell's horse, but as much to Leslie and the Scots. Even then Charles might have led his own army to London but he was intercepted at Newbury (in October) by the earl of Manchester (formerly Kimbolton), and though

neither side claimed a victory, the royalists once more retired to Oxford.

In 1645 the king's troops and finances were dangerously depleted, but the differences between the parties now existing in London encouraged him. (a) The party strongest there was that of the Presbyterians, chiefly bent on establishing their religious system. They were supported by the Scottish army, and persisted in hoping that Charles would give way on Presbyterianism, yield the military commands to them, and surrender to them, to be tried, such *delinquents* as they wished to punish. This party included the few peers, and especially the generals, Manchester, Essex, Sir William Waller, and old Leslie. (b) The smaller, but abler party, of *Independents*, led by Vane and Cromwell, wished to beat the king and depose him, seeing no sanctity in, or need for, kingship. They wanted religious freedom for all Protestant bodies, however small, except the Church, and rejected a Presbyterian supremacy. They spent little thought on the future of the government or on social problems. They seem to have believed that if their religious ideal were only established, secular affairs would right themselves. They were largely represented in the army of Fairfax and in the *Committee of Both Kingdoms*.

The Committee invited the generals to depose the king; they refused indignantly; Cromwell, hitherto a subordinate officer, then became the champion of the extremists and attacked Manchester, his superior.

In the Commons, this Independent party devised an extraordinary method of cashiering the unsuccessful and Presbyterian generals. A *Self-Denying Ordinance* was brought into the House of Commons, whereby all members of either House were to renounce the honour of commanding. This would secure the chief command to Fairfax. At the same time a plan to dissolve the old forces and create an army on "a New Model" was carried. Since few members cared to pose as voting for their own preferment to command, the Self-denying Ordinance was carried (April 1645) and all the peers had to resign. But, for the sake of the public service, Cromwell was made an exception to the rule. The "New Model" army was trained on the pattern of Cromwell's regiment and was led by picked officers, some, like Skippon, professional soldiers trained abroad, others, Puritans and revolutionaries by conviction; and though the privates were often pressed men, at least in the infantry, good pay and conditions and excellent officers made them into the kind of force which Cromwell had long seen to be necessary—"Men with a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go." Religious fanaticism was to face loyalty, and the voluntarily enlisted cavalry which had long been under Cromwell's command was the core and the pattern of the whole army.

The effect of this victory of the Independent party was seen in the summer of 1645, when Charles and Rupert tried a pitched battle

with the New Model army, and were totally defeated by Cromwell at Naseby.

After this the remainder of the military movements mattered really but little. In Scotland Charles had allowed Montrose to attack the Scottish Covenanters, hoping that the diversion would call back the Scottish army from England, but though his brilliant successes accomplished this, it was then too late, and after defeating Montrose at Philiphaugh (September 1645), Leslie came southwards again. For a year after Naseby fighting continued in many districts, Fairfax exhibited his skilful generalship, and the isolated royalists, as at Basing, Lathom, Raglan, and in other famous castles, their devoted loyalty and valour, but such scattered forces were merely wasted and the issue was but a question of time.

By May 1645, Charles had no longer any resource but to preserve his personal safety, if possible, until some future change might replace him in authority. The queen and the Prince of Wales had, with difficulty, escaped to safety in France, and he, unable to bring himself to leave England, rode at last to the Scottish army in its camp at Newark-on-Trent, and surrendered.

The Scots considered that their war was done, and retired with the king to Newcastle, where they halted till the huge sum now due to them from parliament should be paid. There was now a question whether the English or the Scots had the better right to the captive king, and a question, also, between the two sections in the English parliamentary party as to what terms should be imposed upon him. They did not perceive that his own resolute refusal of all terms made a treaty impossible. As Charles steadily refused to take the Covenant and promise a Presbyterian settlement, the Scottish government in Edinburgh refused to allow him to enter Scotland. Leslie therefore handed him over to the English commissioners after they had paid £200,000, half of the sum due to them (January 1647). While the Scots marched triumphantly home, Charles was conducted to one of the royal houses, Holdenby (or Holmby) in Northamptonshire, once the home of Chancellor Hatton, where the county folk and gentry welcomed him with rejoicings, supposing the war to be concluded, and looking for a quiet life without the recent taxes. But how little force had accomplished in the struggle between opposing principles was revealed when again the parliamentarians began negotiations. Charles refused the three main conditions of the parliamentary government: to establish Presbyterianism, to relinquish the control of militia and navy to parliament, and to surrender a number of his followers for punishment. There were three things, he had told them, which he would never give up, "The Church, my crown, my friends."

But while letters and messengers went to and fro, a second and wholly military revolution was rapidly taking place. The army of

Fairfax and Cromwell, camped in Essex, learned with growing indignation the steps the Long Parliament was taking. It was resolved (a) to establish Presbyterianism in England; (b) to send the greater part of the army to Ireland, there to put down royalists, Romanists and rebels alike; (c) to avoid paying the full arrears of wages due to the soldiers and to disband part of the forces.

The intentions of parliament towards the army were expressed in four Ordinances, whereupon the officers held a meeting of protest at Saffron Walden (March 1647). When, in May, commissioners arrived with the command to disband, the entire army refused to obey and mobilised at Newmarket in June, ready to advance on London and dictate terms to parliament.

There seemed much reason in the soldiers' action, for the two Houses were so much reduced in numbers, by the secession of many members, that they could not be supposed to represent public opinion or the constituencies. The Upper House contained twelve peers, the Lower less than half its full numbers. The majority of the Commons formed a compact Presbyterian party, and as, for the past twelve months, it had been negotiating with the king, the army leaders knew that an agreement might well be made ignoring what they and their men held for the most important of all principles—freedom in religion for the sectaries. If the king gave in to Presbyterianism the parliament would restore him to the throne and might make a sacrifice of the army and its Independent friends by calling in the Scottish army. This, in fact, was precisely what the Presbyterians intended, but they were requiring of the king nothing but Presbyterianism and the sacrifice of the leading royalists. The army therefore refused either to be disbanded or to go to Ireland without its pay, but fetched the king from Holdenby, and with him in its power marched upon London.

At this juncture Fairfax's second in command, Cromwell, was recognised as the real representative of the troops. The soldiers were all members of sects which demanded freedom for each congregation and for every man; they therefore devised an agreement with the king which would secure this and in return restore Charles to a better sovereign position than that offered by the parliament. Ireton, Cromwell's right-hand man, was chiefly responsible for "*the Heads of the Proposals*" offered by the army to the king. These *Proposals* were clear and moderate: the king was to be restored to a considerable degree of authority, but with safeguards for regular and frequent parliaments. Restrictions on the royal power as to ministerial, naval and military appointments were laid down for ten years, after which they would automatically expire. In religion, there was to be full toleration for every individual. The royalist followers of the king were to be "pardoned" on paying fines. At the same time the army demanded the expulsion of eleven members of the Commons, all extreme Presbyterians, and the acceptance of certain terms by the parliament. Parliament

attempted to resist the troops, hoping that the Scottish army would come to the rescue. The London mob supported the Commons, but the army, under Fairfax, encamped by London, and frightened the city into submission.

The troops conducted the king to Hampton Court with much respect. But Charles missed his opportunity. He supposed that since the parliament and the army were now quarrelling he had only to wait to intervene and could recover his full authority. He totally misunderstood the army: "Sir," Ireton told him, "you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be it between your Majesty and parliament." Charles even assured the officers who brought the *Proposals* that they could do nothing without him: "You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." He still held his conviction, as absolute as that of any soldier or presbyter, that "God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or His cause to be overthrown;" and his belief that he could play off Scots, parliament and army against each other was ineradicable. The *Proposals* of the army, as he told the Commons, were preferable to theirs; but his momentary bias towards accepting them was soon removed by the tidings of dissension in the ranks and by fresh offers from Scotland. In the army the extreme party, the *Levellers*, openly declared against king and parliament alike. "The whole nation ought to decide," said the *Levellers*. As a general statement of theory anybody might agree to this, but the *Levellers* required national self-government to be actually conducted through a House of Commons, elected biennially by manhood suffrage, and no responsible person dreamed of thus admitting the mass of the population to a share in government.

Whether the *Heads of the Proposals* could be enforced even if the king accepted them, now seemed doubtful, especially when the third party, the Scots, to attain their own ideal of a Presbyterian establishment, offered the king the help of their army, that same army which had helped to win at Marston Moor and was now expected, by the Commons, to protect the existing fragment of the Long Parliament from Cromwell's Independents. Charles considered it wisest to play off Scots against English, and agreed that the Presbyterian system should remain in England for three years, as it was already set up (*i. e.* officially), but with toleration for all Protestants; after that time the Church was to be restored. The Scots accepted this compromise, and the king imagined that his enemies were about to vie with each other to restore him, being in danger of tearing each other to pieces. He thought that he had but to gain time by negotiating until from abroad, or from Ormonde in Ireland, or at least from Scotland, armed forces would appear to make good his position. Under pressure from the Scots, therefore, he finally rejected the *Proposals* and escaped from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight (November 1647), that he might be able to communicate with Scot-

land, Ireland, or France by sea, and retire to France if necessary. He was, however, ill served by his attendants and soon found himself a virtual prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle. For three months he continued to negotiate, still thinking the Scots his best tool. *The Engagement*, or treaty between Charles and the Scots, practically amounted to a recognition of the Covenant and Presbyterianism in Scotland and the infliction of it on England for three years. The Scots were to replace Charles on the throne.

Though the Scottish Parliament agreed to this and an army was set on foot under Hamilton (now a duke), there was a strong minority which opposed making war on the English parliament. In consequence, though an excellent cavalry, raised by the gentry and lords, crossed the Border in the summer of 1648, the infantry were of poor quality and had hardly any equipment.

In the meantime the English parliament, learning of the *Engagement* and the threat of invasion, refused to treat further with Charles (February 1648), while the army in a series of mutinies (February to July 1648) proved its resolution not to obey the parliament.

The hopes of the royalists everywhere rose high amid these perturbations, and the higher because a number of gentry, parsons and humbler folk who had hitherto supported parliament became alarmed by the army's refusal to obey it, and showed that they now desired the constitutional rule of king and parliament more strongly than they desired any especial religious settlement. All the large parties in religion, the Church, Presbyterians, Roman-catholics, dreaded the 'sectaries' who pervaded the ranks of the army, and all men, almost without exception, who had property or businesses, or were accustomed to administer local government and law, dreaded the rule of an armed and arbitrary minority.

If the royalists would but have waited longer possibly a restoration might have come about, but early in 1648 the most ardent of their leaders, encouraged by Henrietta Maria, took up arms.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR, 1648

The *Second Civil War* consisted in a Scottish invasion and a number of local insurrections, royalist leaders being supported by many who had been parliament's men hitherto. The gallant old earl of Norwich ¹ made his last effort, and after trying in vain to seize London flung himself and his men into Colchester. There were tumults all over the eastern counties; petitions poured in from Kent and Surrey urging parliament to make a treaty with the king; the fleet, long left unpaid, declared for his Majesty, took the young Prince of Wales abroad and blockaded the mouth of the Thames.

Fairfax with consummate skill rapidly put down the most threatening Kentish movements and formed the siege of Colchester;

¹ Goring the elder, father of the calamitous and treacherous cavalry officer.

the Londoners prudently abiding events. Cromwell was called to Wales by a considerable rising, and had to take Chepstow, Tenby and Pembroke, which last held out so stoutly that it was doubtful whether the royalists within or the Roundheads without would be starved first. Risings next began in the midland counties, and when the Scottish army invaded the north, joining hands with the royalists there, Lambert's force was compelled to retreat before it into Yorkshire (August 1648).

But Cromwell by now had trampled out revolt in Wales, and marched quickly to meet the invaders, who had reached Lancashire.

Unluckily for the king, the Scots supposed the northern gentry to be all Romanists and would not work with them. Scotch and English accused each other of treachery, and Cromwell broke them, with his usual promptitude, in three fights, at Preston, Wigan and Warrington. Then, following up the retreating Scots, he crossed the Tweed, re-annexed Berwick to England, entered Edinburgh, and left there General Lambert with a small force to watch the Scottish government and support Argyll, who was for the English parliament, or rather, against anything led by Hamilton. At Cromwell's successes the Presbyterian Commons in London were even more dismayed than the king, who was still in the Isle of Wight. Hurriedly they offered him fresh terms, to which, though less good than the *Proposals* from the army which he had rejected, Charles pretended to consent, supposing this to be another stage in the disruption of the rebellious party (as he regarded it), and reckoning that he would be able to modify or annul any agreement when he should have recovered his royal position. But Cromwell's army was now the ruling power in Great Britain, and it was marching back from Scotland to London filled with indignation against all responsible for this, as they considered, unnecessary war. To them, diplomatic bargains, such as that of the king with the Scots, or the Commons with the king, seemed merely elaborate attempts at fraud, marks of a royal and Presbyterian tyranny, combining to destroy liberty and cheat the men who had done the fighting. In this temper, the majority of the army adopted the conclusion of the Levellers, that the fighting of 1648 was a new war, perfidiously caused by the king and the royalists, who ought to be punished, as being murderers of those who had fallen on the side of the Parliament and People, to whom the army persisted in ascribing its own policies and ideals. Both Cromwell and Ireton adopted the convenient conviction that Naseby had been an evident divine judgment, and that to resist the victors was both impiety to God and treachery to the nation.

Already Fairfax and Ireton had sent to execution two of the commanders of the gallant garrison of Colchester, and the parliament, at the bidding of the army, ordered the rest to be beheaded. The principal were the ardent royalists, Norwich, Lucas, and Lisle, the noble-minded Capel, one of the early leaders of the Long



Trayle your Pike.



*Recover your Pike and Charge.
The 1st Palming motion.*



The 2^d Palming motion.



Charge your Pike.



Order at close order.



Put up your Sword & order your Pike.

"Trail'st thou the puissant pike?" *Hen. V. (iv. 1.)*

THE EXERCISE OF THE PIKE

(ABOUT 1642)

Parliament, and the duke of Hamilton, who was, of course, the general appointed by the Scottish government.

Only the old earl was spared and by one vote. Such executions were as contrary to the recognised rules of war as they were to plain justice.

Ireton was the spokesmen of the soldiers. He drew up a *Remonstrance of the Army* to the parliament, requiring that Charles himself should be put to death, as a "traitor to the nation," and his two elder sons and several eminent royalists executed with him.¹ Neither Fairfax nor the Commons would accept this remonstrance, but Cromwell accepted it and thereby became undisputed leader of the army, while Fairfax retired to private life in Yorkshire. This seems to mark the moment at which Cromwell, who for two years had used his powerful influence to restrain the army from doing violence to king or parliament, lost patience, and determined to use the brief methods of force, declaring that the victories which had placed power in the hands of the soldiers and authority in his own, without his seeking, must be tokens of the Divine Will, which he should do wrong to resist. Doubtless, he was now as conscientiously convinced of a personal mission conferred upon him by God as was Charles I of the sacredness of his own position as king: at any rate, the language he used was such as expressed the feelings of the average Ironside trooper.

Charles was kept a close prisoner at Hurst Castle, and in London the majority of the Commons (ninety-one) were expelled by a body of troops (*Pride's Purge*). The fifty-three members remaining obediently voted that the king should be brought to trial before a High Court of Justice. The twelve peers rejected the resolution, so the fifty-three voted that their own enactments had the force of law without consent of king or lords. By such a process the victorious *Ironsides*, as Cromwell's troops had long been proudly nicknamed, could not disguise the usurpation of power by a small military party which now, by well-organised force, swept away alike the forms and the principles of English government in order to execute its own decision by a sudden stroke. "I tell you," cried Cromwell to one who protested on the ground of legality, "we will cut off his head with the crown upon it."

One hundred and thirty-five persons were named to be a court of justice, of whom only sixty-seven would sit. Fairfax, still nominal General-in-chief, was one of the absentees, having "more wit than to be there," as his wife declared. The king was brought to London and conducted before this body for a mock trial in Westminster Hall. In the gallery and at the end of the hall were a number of privileged spectators. The king was charged with "many Treasons, Murthers, and other hainous offences, in the name of the good people of England"; a clear voice cried out, "No, nor a hundredth part of them." It was Lady Fairfax, daughter of Sir Horace Vere.

¹ Charles, aged 18, and James, aged 15.

The king only replied that he was king by right of inheritance and that no court which they could make had a right to try him. Nor, he added, was his Cause simply his own: "It is the freedom and liberty of the people of England, and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their liberties: for if power without law may make laws, may alter the fundamental laws of this kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be sure of his life or anything that he calls his own."¹ The judges were not unanimous, but in the end fifty-eight signed the sentence of death. They dared not wait long lest a popular rising should save Charles from a doom which, it was well known, was contrary to general feeling. The Prince of Wales, in Holland, had sent a blank letter, signed and sealed by himself, for the parliament to insert what terms they chose, if they would but spare his father's life. After being kept under a humiliating personal scrutiny, day and night, Charles was allowed to see his two younger children, Elizabeth and Henry (then thirteen and nine respectively), whom he urged never to change their religion. He warned Henry not to allow himself to be crowned while his brothers lived. "I will be torn in pieces first," said the little boy. Charles warned his children that he was about to die—"a glorious death, it being for the laws and liberties of this land and for maintaining the true Protestant religion." He told them that he had forgiven all his enemies, "and commanded us and all the rest of my brothers and sisters to forgive them."

On January 30th, 1649, he was led to the scaffold in Whitehall, the faithful Bishop Juxon attending him.

Pains were taken to prevent the king from speaking to the people, a belt of troops lining the way with drums beating loudly. But he could hear the people behind praying for him and the soldiers' demeanour was not insulting. His voice could reach only the small group on the scaffold to whom he briefly said that he had never any intent to encroach on the liberties of the people: "but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having government in those laws by which their life and goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in government, that is nothing pertaining to them . . . If I would have given way to have all changed according to the power of the sword I needed not to have come here . . . I am the martyr of the people." To one he added that he suffered under an unjust sentence because he had himself suffered an unjust sentence to pass (on Strafford). He gave to Juxon his cloak and the *George* which he always wore, saying, "Remember," knelt at the block and prayed, when, with one blow, the masked executioner struck off his head and, turning, held it up before the crowd. A universal moan was the sole reply. The dead king's personal friend, the duke of Richmond, obtained leave to bury the body privately in an unmarked grave in Windsor

¹ Firth's *Oliver Cromwell*.

chapel, but Juxon was not allowed to read the burial service from the forbidden Prayer-book.

The royal children were at first treated with kindness, but when the duke of York succeeded in escaping to France, they were sent to lonely imprisonment in Carisbrooke, where Elizabeth, in profound grief, ill and without proper care, very soon died. In 1652, Cromwell allowed Prince Henry (duke of Gloucester) to join his family abroad.

At Charles' coronation he had chosen to wear white, instead of the usual brilliant royal colours, and from this circumstance, and in allusion to the purity of his private life, he was sometimes known as *the White king*. When his coffin was being carried to St. George's chapel snow-flakes suddenly began to fall, so that "the black velvet pall was all white, the colour of innocence, being thick covered with snow."

The general horror of the nation at the execution, their pity, and the profound regret of many for the actions which had led to so surprising a catastrophe, provided an almost reverential reception for a book which at once appeared, "*Eikon Basilike*, the portraicture of his most sacred Majesty." It purported to be a collection of Charles' private prayers and meditations. The true history of this book has never been clearly traced; probably a royalist parson, Gauden, put the work together from private diaries, etc., of the king with a good deal of his own. Twenty-three editions in 1649 and a flood of sympathetic pamphlets indicate the vehement and general indignation at the catastrophe brought about by the military power which, for the next ten years, was to coerce the nation.

XXXIV

COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE IN THE THREE KINGDOMS (1649-1660). CROMWELL

For eleven years the three kingdoms experienced an interregnum which in each bore different aspects. England, accepting a republican government, framed according to theories new to her history, found herself under a military despotism, very efficient, but expensive and intolerant. Scotland, which had proclaimed Charles II and the Covenant together, found herself promptly conquered by her old enemies of England, compulsorily annexed, kept in order, and ruinously taxed. Ireland beheld a fresh phase of English supremacy, even more uncomprehending, more ruthless and persecuting than before. All three learned strange lessons, the effects of which long outlasted the temporary revolutionary government.

The actual political steps taken were less significant than the new views and principles which they implied. The question which lay before the victorious army and the half-hundred members still surviving of the Long Parliament was—"How was the nation to govern itself by means of representative parliaments, and yet the right Puritan ideal be maintained as the basis of government?"¹ It was the same problem as that of Charles and Laud, with the alteration of but one adjective. By rapid steps the fragment of the House of Commons (*a*) abolished the House of Lords as "useless and dangerous"; (*b*) abolished government by a king or single person, as "unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous"; (*c*) reconstituted the Council, that standing instrument of rule from the days of the Conquest, with powers and dignity so great that it resembled a Cabinet council and House of Lords in one. It was composed of the most important and able persons, and practically continued the rôle lately filled by the Commons' Committee. Finally, (*d*) by ordering a number of vacant seats to be filled, the House raised its own number to about 150, and so avoided a general election: a step which showed its dread of appealing to the electors for sanction. The numbers in the House were even then less than a third of a full parliament (which would number 490), and it was obvious to all that a minority was ruling the nation. Proclamation was made that the People of England was a Commonwealth and Free State, and an oath of fidelity was administered to every official, from the ministers

¹ Gardiner.

of State to the humblest parish constables; as this resulted in a general displacement of royalists, local government was put entirely into the hands of the Puritans.

It had been intended that the remnant of the parliament should order new elections and at once dissolve; but the wars going on in Ireland and Scotland afforded good excuse for postponing the elections, and the Commons went on voting as if they held a mandate from the nation while necessary decisions were taken by the Council, which acted with much vigour and success. The custom used during the war, of conducting public business by a *board*, or a *committee* sitting permanently for each department, was also continued, and became a recognised method of government.

IRELAND

The first practical task to which the new republican Council turned was the reduction of Ireland. From the outbreak of the massacre of Ulster in 1641, the parliamentary party had conveniently assumed that in Ireland royalists and Roman-catholics were the same thing, and of both they habitually thought in the terms of the most vindictive parts of the Old Testament history. The gallant and loyal earl of Ormonde was still procuring peace between the Irish royalists and the native rebels when the tidings of the execution of the king arrived, and he instantly proclaimed Charles II. All the inhabitants of Ireland were so far agreed as to refuse any recognition of the new English Commonwealth. Prince Rupert was off the coast with a part of the English fleet which had declared for the king, and Ormonde hoped to welcome Charles II with the acclamation of the whole island. He took Drogheda and marched to attack Dublin, which was held by a strong garrison for "the Commonwealth," but was utterly defeated by General Jones at the battle of Rathmines (August 1649).

It was necessary that Ireland should be reduced to obedience at once, and the Council desired Cromwell himself to take the command. With strong forces he and Ireton arrived at Dublin on the morrow of Jones' brilliant victory, and finished the repression of the royalist movement by the siege and storm, first of Drogheda (September), and then of Wexford (October). The heroic defence of the garrisons was a crime in Cromwell's eyes. On both occasions the garrison was butchered, whether they surrendered or were stricken down in fight. At Drogheda over 3000 were slaughtered, some burned, by Cromwell's order, in the church where they had fortified themselves. They were the pick of the English and Anglo-Irish royalists, by no means Irish Roman-catholics. Cromwell, like the parliamentarians at home, professed a conviction that those royalists who did not accept Naseby as a proof of Divine judgment, but still fought for their king, were using "a fig-leaf of pretence—really it is for men guilty of blood." This was now the ground assigned for the deliberate

executions of royalists. Cromwell, however, revealed another motive for his massacres in the remark that the garrison of Drogheda comprised "all their prime soldiers. *When they submitted*, their officers were knocked on the head and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes." According to foreign custom a resisting garrison was liable to slaughter, but such organised massacre, especially after a surrender, was new in English annals. In any case, the slaughter, not of ten per cent., but of nearly the whole of the gallant defenders, wiped out the most determined of the royalists, and Cromwell excused it further by the habitual argument of terrorists—that it would produce submission. He made, also, skilful use of the native Irish habits of treachery, and by arranging secret offers to the chief of the O'Briens (Lord Inchiquin) succeeded in obtaining the peaceable surrender of five fortified towns. He could then concentrate his now much-diminished troops upon the royalist garrisons, and by unrelenting massacre, even women and children being sometimes cut down, exterminated them. After these crushing blows Ormonde, haughtily rejecting Cromwell's offer to himself, with biting words on his more successful seduction of the Irish royalist leader, crossed to France, in obedience to Charles II's wish, and Cromwell returned home to deal with the Scots.

He left a wrecked Ireland to be reduced to quietness by the steady application of force. Priests and prisoners were put to death, houses and villages burned, thousands of men and women exported to the West Indies as white slaves. The 'Cromwellian Settlement' decreed the division of most of the land among his own soldiers, or the speculators who purchased their shares from them. The natives were ordered to be expelled "to Hell or Connaught." But to be driven to Connaught meant starvation, there was "not water deep enough to drown a man, trees big enough to hang a man, nor earth enough to bury a man," said one of his emissaries, and a third of the native Irish are believed to have died. Dublin heard wolves howling in the suburbs. The Protestant merchants of Cork and Waterford fled to Ostende or Rochelle.

SCOTLAND

No one now entertained the idea of separation between England and Scotland. It remained to be seen which could dictate to the other, for the northern kingdom had expressed its abhorrence of the execution of Charles I, and proclaimed Charles II "King of Great Britain, France and Ireland." Charles II, however, was informed by the Scottish parliament and its leader, the marquis of Argyll, that he would only be admitted upon pledging himself to the Covenant, and the Scottish nation was told that all 'malignants,' *i. e.* those who had refused to take that oath, were to be penalised. Charles waited a few months, temporising, to see if Montrose could

bring about his restoration at the hands of real royalists. But Montrose, in the Highlands, was once more defeated by David Leslie, and was taken prisoner and by Argyll's direction executed forthwith at Edinburgh, on the old sentence passed on him at the time of "the Incident" (1641). Charles II thereupon accepted the Covenant and made his appearance in Scotland as a Presbyterian king (1650), but only to convince the government at Edinburgh, to its blank discomfiture, that he had rendered no "inward and spiritual assent" to his covenanting vow.

In reply to these actions of the Scottish government, the English republic (which had never renounced the covenanting oath its representatives had taken in 1643) despatched Cromwell, credited with Jones' exploits and his own, to Scotland in July, 1650. On approaching Edinburgh, Cromwell found himself faced by his comrade of Marston Moor, David Leslie. Leslie outmanœuvred Cromwell and, close by Dunbar, penned him up with his back to the sea, "in a worse pound than the king had Essex in Cornwall," as he said. But the godly Scottish parliamentarians, who were still trying to convert their young king by making him sign professions of his grief at his father's obstinacy and his mother's idolatry, had decided that only with godly, covenanting soldiers could they hope to defeat the English regicides. A committee went to Leslie's army, and, in face of the enemy, insisted upon 'purging' it of all officers and men who did not satisfy their religious standards. Three or four thousand were thus expelled, and the officers left were, for the most part, "such sanctified creatures who had hardly ever seen or heard of any sword but that of the spirit." Still worse followed—the historical blunder of so many Scottish armies. Leslie had occupied a commanding height, whence he could bombard Cromwell until his army should be starved into surrender, but the committee interfered and insisted upon descending to attack. The awkward movement gave opportunity for the favourite cavalry charge of the 'Ironsides' and the Scottish army was destroyed (September 3, 1650). Cromwell showed his habitual mercilessness to fighting men who dared to face him. Of about 10,000 prisoners, all the able-bodied were ordered to be transferred to New England as slaves, but most of them died from starvation or disease on the way.

One defeat, however crushing, did not intimidate the Scots. Defiantly they crowned their king and sent him, with a fresh army, into the Highlands. When Cromwell came after them, and took Perth, Charles and the army slipped away and courageously dashed into England, in 1651. But the English royalists were by this time exhausted. Some were abroad, others ruined by the confiscations of the past three years, others, again, were unwilling to trust to Scotch allies, and many, doubtless, terrified by the reputation of Cromwell. The country would not attack, but would not help, the army from Scotland. Charles marched, unhindered, towards

the south-west, hoping for support in Somerset and Devon, but was caught up by Cromwell and beset by the local militia at Worcester (September 3, 1652), and he was totally defeated. He found, however, the loyalty he had expected. For six months he wandered from place to place, known to many persons, none of whom would betray him, though £1000 was offered for his surrender, dead or alive, and death proclaimed to all who concealed him. At length a sea captain at the fishing village of Brighton conveyed him safely to France.

Scotland, in the meantime, after a characteristic massacre at Dundee (1651), was held by Cromwell's vicegerent, General Monck, the presence of whose army enabled eight English commissioners, men of first-rate talents, to direct the government of the country. It was at this time that the red uniforms of Cromwell's and Monck's troopers caused the English soldiers to be known as *red-coats*. Officers and men felt able to recognise the Scots as "a people fearing God's Name, though deceived," as Cromwell put it, and they therefore used them with great moderation. England and Scotland were to be one Commonwealth, and a small number of Scottish members (thirty) were to be elected to the joint parliament in London: the estates of royalists were confiscated: vassals of feudal lords who would be loyal to the Commonwealth were freed from their feudal ties and duties: a tax was levied upon the counties for the English army of occupation: complete toleration was decreed for all Protestants: the Highlands were kept in order by forts, garrisoned by excellent and disciplined troops, who showed more gentleness and religious tolerance than had been expected: and a commission of impartial judges proceeded to transact ordinary law business with a fairness and celerity which amazed the Scottish people. This combination of peace, order and justice, as well as the presence of Monck's formidable troops, enabled the Scots to acquiesce in the enforced union with England.

"But so senseless are this generation of their own goods that scarce a man of them shew'd any sign of rejoicing," reports a disgusted English observer.

ENGLAND

It is often said that by his death Charles I won the fight which his life and rule had lost. Certainly the catastrophe profoundly shocked the larger part of the nation, while the appearance of the book *Eikon Basilike* made a powerful appeal to the religious-minded. But the reaction against Puritanism had begun earlier in intellect and feeling. Already the experience of civil war had set men searching for other methods of settling difficulties and differences. In 1650 appeared a book which was in time to lead English political thought on to a very different track: Hobbes' *Leviathan*. Old philosophers had spoken of Man as a Tiny Universe: Hobbes regarded the State as a gigantic human being. The State is a composite of all the men

within it. If men are not to slay and rob each other eternally the State must be managed by a government which can keep peace and order. Hobbes proceeded to consider upon what *principles* the State should be governed. He sought the guiding principle, not in religion, which had produced in his lifetime such dreadful war, but in the non-religious and non-idealist conception of self-protection by means of a government. He may be called the pioneer, in England, of a school of thought which regarded Utility, and especially Order, as the main concern of government, and considered the basis of government to rest, not upon force, nor upon a Divine commission, but on the implied consent, or contract, of all the people to delegate their rights and powers to a ruler. "Government by consent" had been a favourite phrase with many of the republican theorists, including Vane and Ludlow, who meant thereby a freely elected and omnipotent parliament, but Hobbes proceeded to demonstrate that the best and only effective kind of government is an autocratic monarchy.

His book provided a powerful armoury for attacks on republicanism. It had not at first a very wide influence, but its profound thought and noble style yearly attracted more and more attention, and it may be said to have become the principal guide of the political thought of the next generation. Hobbes' early patrons were the influential Cavendishes, through whom he came to be tutor for a year or two to young Charles II. But the influence of the *Leviathan* was not due to fashion, but to its value as a reply to the propaganda of republicans and levellers and as an assertion of settled monarchy against government by force. But philosophy and peace principles were not to direct the government of England during the career of Cromwell.

As if two wars were insufficient to occupy the energies of England, the 'Parliament and Commonwealth' contrived a third just after the battle of Worcester had been announced to them by Cromwell as "for aught I know a crowning mercy"—meaning peace. The political ambition of the rulers of the young Commonwealth had been flattered by a suggestion from the new mercantile and oligarchic government of the Dutch Netherlands for a commercial union of the two republics. The Stadtholder William II, who was just dead, had married Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I, and during his lifetime his brothers-in-law, Charles and James, had found a very practical sympathy extended to them, as had their aunt, Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia. But on the death of William II a party of powerful men set his young son aside, expelled the Stewarts and hoped to secure support for their government from the English republic. But their proposal of union with England was distasteful to the population of the United Provinces, whose feelings were strongly against their oligarchical governors and in favour of the House of Orange, and, therefore, friendly to the exiled Stewarts. On the other side, the

English demands were exorbitant, while in the House of Commons, always a stronghold of mercantile interests, there was much more jealousy of the Dutch than desire to join with them. Hence the plan to unite the two republics made little progress and was shortly reversed by the *Navigation Act* of 1651. This was a more forcible repetition of earlier Acts, forbidding the importation of goods into England or English colonies except in English ships, or in those of the country of their origin. In course of time the rules of the Act increased the shipping and commerce of English ports; but the immediate effect was to depress trade, and especially foreign trade. The Act was a deliberate blow at the Dutch, whose business, like that of the old Hanse League, was principally a carrying trade, and they replied to the intention of the Act by refusing to salute (lower their flags and sails) before English ships in the Narrow Seas, as our admirals required. The result, as England, thanks to Charles I, possessed a sufficient fleet to carry out the Act, was a naval war (the Dutch War, 1651-1654) between the two Protestant governments, each trying to keep, or rather to seize, the control of the Narrow Seas and of English sea-borne trade. The naval construction of Charles I, his well-trained captains, and the genius of Blake, Lawson, and other admirals, prevented serious naval disaster, but the House of Commons was convinced afresh of its own indispensableness, and although a general election had to be ordered, the House resolved that all the old members should keep their seats and should also exercise a veto upon any new members considered by them unfit to sit (1652). This caused fierce remonstrance from the indignant army, with which the House had to negotiate, but while negotiating it tried to pass its Bill quietly, or, as the officers considered, treacherously, and Cromwell thereupon led a body of troops to Westminster and ordered the members to depart and "make room for honest men" (April, 1653).

The confusion and extravagance which were rampant in the various departments of government made Cromwell's epithet pointed. From 1642 the finances had naturally been disorganised, but the establishment of the Commonwealth had only increased peculation. Members took bribes almost openly. Offices were bestowed by wire-pullers like the notorious Colonel Rich. Parliaments, wrote an ironical critic, "are *perishable goods*, they cannot keep long without *corruption*." More than three times the revenue of Charles I was being collected, yet the government was on the verge of bankruptcy. Commerce grew worse and worse; companies failed and the prisons were crowded with hopeless debtors. The public was ready to endorse the action of the military, hoping for a more competent government.

The army men were quite sincere in protesting that they wished not to exercise power themselves. They sought to create a government which would govern on the lines they considered to be righteous. But now that Cromwell, "Captain-General and Commander-in-

chief," found himself divinely invested (as he believed) with a temporary absolute authority, he did not summon a freely elected parliament, being well aware that such a body would probably restore the Stewarts. Instead, the officers selected (1653) 139 "godly men," including five for Scotland, a body of nominees known as the Little Parliament, and soon nicknamed *Barebone's Parliament* from the odd name of a prominent London member, Praise-God Barebone.¹

This *Little Parliament*, with all the zeal of ignorance combined with a clear conscience, proposed to abolish or reform the Chancery, the Common Law, the system of tithes and patronage, and several other large problems of the centuries. But they very soon found that they had brought all the remaining machinery of government to a deadlock, and not knowing what to do they washed their hands of responsibility by resigning their powers to General Cromwell, and went home.

CROMWELL (DEC. 1653—SEPT. 1658).

The officers next tried their hands at an ideal constitution, and drew up a document called *The Instrument of Government*, whereby Cromwell was made Lord Protector, with a Council placed above him, to give him directions, and a House of Commons below him, to legislate and tax. The Protector was intended to have "merely an executive power," but until the meeting of parliament he might issue *ordinances* with the force of law, and by putting off a parliament and issuing some eighty such ordinances he set up a system of government according to his own ideals and, so far as alterations in the law went, of a considerably modernised type. Probably by no other means could the country have been re-organised so quickly, for during the war, law-courts and assizes had been irregular in many counties, and, as the judge was then the supreme executive authority as to rates, elections of local officials, maintenance of the poor, repair of roads, etc., as well as the supervisor of the Justices of the Peace, the absence of the Judges of Assize had meant a standstill of government locally. Many gaols, for instance, were so ruinous that criminals and vagabonds could walk out when they chose. Overseers who tried to collect rates got beaten, and men refused to become constables or churchwardens. After 1653 these conditions were rapidly changed.

In the same way, Cromwell obtained a regular revenue by ordering the collection of customs duties, of an excise on salt, and by levying a permanent ten per cent. fine upon royalists and other political opponents.

Such an absolute government had by no means been intended by the officers, who meant the Council to draw up new laws and form the supreme authority, but as the Council's decisions

¹ He survived prosperously to found the first London Fire Insurance in 1667.

could only be carried out by the Protector's order, Cromwell found that he need not even take the trouble to attend its meetings. He could revise all its instructions, and frequently he altered them considerably before he had them carried out. By this method he exercised a more prompt and absolute power than any king, even Henry VIII, had ever wielded. (1) By *Ordinance* Cromwell decreed the union of England and Scotland, and of England and Ireland. (2) Religious affairs he controlled by naming a *Board of Triers* with power to approve or reject all new ministers and to retain or expel the old incumbents, for he held that some kind of Church establishment must be recognised by or for the nation. Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists were recognised by him as the three religious bodies forming the protectorate "Church." Episcopalian or Roman-catholic worship was proscribed and the Prayer-book was forbidden to be used, even privately, which had till then been connived at. (3) The legal and other work hitherto transacted by the ecclesiastical courts was transferred to laymen. (4) Marriage was made a legal contract to be performed before a magistrate, by a minister, who might not use the Prayer-book service. (5) The greater part of the tithes and other Church revenues from land was collected and devoted, nominally, to the maintenance of religion, actually, to the expenses of the Triers and the other new lay officials. Manchester, for instance, petitioned in vain that a portion of that endowment which Elizabethan pillage had left to it might still be paid towards maintaining the twelve ministers of its extensive parish. But they were abandoned to penury or private contribution.

The first Protectorate parliament, that of 1654, was summoned upon the lines of a new and a real representation. Old decayed boroughs were disregarded and newly-grown towns, such as Leeds and Manchester, were ordered to send members. But only thirty were summoned for all Scotland, and thirty for the English settlers (Puritans) in Ireland. When parliament met (Sept.) it became abundantly clear that the nation disagreed with the army and its Captain-General, the Protector, if these members represented their constituents. Various constituencies, some very important, had elected known royalists to represent them. Many other members were ready to form an opposition. The House, led by Sir Harry Vane, once addressed by Cromwell as his "dear brother," began by debating whether this government "by a single person" could be suffered, being inconsistent with the Resolutions of the Long Parliament in 1649. The Protector hereupon by his personal order excluded from the House all who would not pledge themselves not to try to alter the *Instrument*. But those left (about three-fourths) still refused to proceed to the practical piece of work—the reform of the law—which Cromwell had recommended to them, because they put first the constitutional settlement of their own position, and he therefore dissolved the House, exactly

as Charles or James would have done, at the earliest moment legally possible under the *Instrument of Government* (January 1655).

Little better were the results of Cromwell's second parliament, which he had to call, in 1656, being at war with Spain, for the sake of supplies. In spite of drastic interference¹ in the elections he found it necessary to exclude a quarter of the members at once, the rest in the end offered to the Protector *The Humble Petition and Advice* (March, 1657), suggesting certain alterations in the constitution, and the assumption of the crown by himself. It was believed that the universal longing for the old state of things was so strong that a kingship alone would calm the discontent. The army, however, and a number of conscientious supporters of the republic manifested their repugnance to a royal title, and Cromwell refused it, but he held a magnificent state ceremony, when the Speaker invested him with a royal robe and sword to intimate (and particularly to foreign envoys) the national sanction of the Protector's title and rule. From this time Oliver, as he was now properly designated, assumed royal state. Already Windsor and Bushey, Whitehall, St. James' Fields (The Park) and Hampton Court had been assigned to him. He had summarily replaced all the old residents, officials and servants by his own nominees and established a considerable court. It was noticed that as much as possible of the Crown valuables and the personal property of Charles I was bought up for him, and that his relatives and friends exercised great influence in government departments and even occasionally used threats to bend subordinate officials to their wishes in regard to the bestowal of posts on their own connections. The abuses of a court appeared to flourish round the stern Protector. His attempt to create a fresh House of Lords (1656) even stirred a feeling dangerously near to contempt, for no old lords would sit and most of the new ones absented themselves. The attempt showed an odd want of understanding of public sentiment.

Oliver had as little respect for general opinion as Charles I. That his devotion to his principles led him to those very steps over which parliament had fought Charles I was immediately noted. Very early he had dismissed a judge "for not observing the Protector's pleasure in all his commands," soon he cashiered a good many more and sent to prison a number of merchants who refused to pay custom duties because they had not been voted by parliament.

The most striking features in Cromwell's character were his intense religious conviction, his pitilessness, and his gift for command. This, rather than tactical genius, had made him the one great general of the war. He attracted and controlled men who had an instinctive turn for warfare, and with them he had formed first a regiment, then

¹ At Colchester, the deputy of the major-general disqualified all but 140, and asked for military assistance, because, "of them the honest interest had but 74."—*Cf. Round, in Eng. Hist. Review, xv. (1900).*

an army, comparable in discipline, courage and endurance to nothing known in Europe save the marvellous Swedes of Gustavus Adolphus. He could keep his regiments in leash, hurl them with irresistible force and again recall and manœuvre them, when other regiments, friend or foe, were scattered in fragments by their own impetuosity. He was, of course, an admirable judge of officers, nor would he inquire into any personal or religious peculiarities of the man who was valuable as an officer.

In political work he desired to see the same prompt and practical results as on the battlefield: he worked continually, saying, with perfect truth, that he would ever spend and be spent "for the Lord's poor people." But he could not understand that governance is a slower process than warfare. For one thing, "the Lord's people" meant to him Independents, who by no means formed the majority of the nation, for another, his intense belief that "outward manifestations" proved his ideals right blinded him to the possible justice of other ideals. Vane, for some years his friend, he came to regard as a child of perdition—"The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" he cried when Vane persistently demanded "government by consent," *i. e.* a freely elected parliament.

Oliver was as impatient as Henry VIII of resistance to his own guiding principles and he perceived no difference between the anarchical self-assertion of 'Levellers' and the steady refusal of an elected parliament to be dictated to. Mutineers might be shot, parliaments dismissed. Was the good of the people, the cause of God, he asked indignantly, to be hindered by "the private affections" of a few? Not a few, retorted the Presbyterian leader, Calamy, but nine out of ten. "Very well," the Protector is said to have replied, "but what if I should disarm the nine and put a sword in the tenth man's hands, would not that do the business?"¹ For his brief reign, it did.

Cromwell was obviously sincere in saying that he wished to rule by help of parliament: "I am as much for government by consent as any man, but where shall we find that consent?" Like other reformers, before and since, he was embittered by the discovery that the ideals of the parliaments did not coincide with his own. It then became difficult to draw the line between his idealism and individual liberty. Throughout the brief republican period there was continual resistance to the new and ever-changing government, which had to be repressed unless anarchy were to be permitted. The disappearance of royalists and Scots had cleared the way for all kinds of enthusiasts with whom the republic's generals dealt sharply enough. There were the *Levellers*, first heard of in 1647, who wanted the entire mass of the nation to vote upon the new system of government, a proceeding which would promptly have restored royalty and the old system. Their chief was John Lilburne, for twenty years famous as an agitator against authority—he had helped to print Bastwick's libels and now charged

¹ See Firth, *Oliver Cromwell*, c. xx.

Cromwell himself with treachery and self-seeking. There were *Fifth-Monarchy men* whose politics were settled by their interpretation of the Book of Daniel, and who would allow of no government but that of "the Saints," presumably themselves. There were more literal "levellers" who demanded the nationalisation of the land and of everything upon or below it, and who began throwing down fences and digging up the common pastureland, which they nationalised for themselves: but the enraged Surrey peasantry quickly put a stop to that experiment. Only three months after the execution of the king Fairfax and Cromwell had to suppress a plain mutiny raised by their own soldiers, who demanded that their wages should be paid and "the liberties of England" guaranteed before they would obey the order to go to Ireland. But under cover of these demands they adopted Lilburne's idealist and anarchical plans. The men had been surrounded, at Burford, by overwhelming forces and three executions had brought them to submission. The possibility of similar outbreaks always remained and largely explains Cromwell's deference to the opinions of the army officers. After the erection of the Protectorate his difficulties came less from his troops, or even from occasional royalist plots and risings, such as Penruddock's at Salisbury, as from the dead weight of passive resistance in officials, judges, lawyers and the population in general.

In 1655 he resolved not to tolerate opposition from the public to his reforms, but to govern openly through his army. He divided the country into eleven districts, and in each placed a major-general supported by troops who were paid from the local fines. The major-generals and their deputies saw the Protector's ordinances carried out, levied the taxes and fines inflicted on royalists, and were supreme judges. This was required because the lawyers whom Cromwell had compelled to become judges courageously persisted in administering ordinary statute law. One had even procured the acquittal of some Scottish prisoners of war, accused of treason, by telling the jury that no statute had yet defined any *treason* against a *protector*.

Under the major-generals arbitrary arrests were carried out by soldiers who came to men's houses unexpectedly, perhaps in the night. The charge was not always stated, for the major-generals were not obliged to use warrants, writs, or any of the customary machinery of the law. Gentlemen suspected of being *malignants* (royalists) were placed in restraint and kept there until they signed bonds to pay a specified sum of money to the government. They were not treated harshly in prison, but there was no trial, for no charge was stated upon which a prisoner could demand a trial. On the other hand, many who had been long imprisoned without a trial—one bishop for ten years—under the Long Parliament's orders were released by the Protector, who on his investiture had cancelled every death sentence except for murder. The major-generals lasted for over a year, so that in every county the truth was driven home

that a well-organised army was governing the country according to its own standard of morals and by methods of arbitrary power. As no *malignant*, nor any person accused of having royalist or Church sympathies, could be trusted in subordinate offices, so many puritan soldiers, preachers, justices, jurymen, tax-collectors, schoolmasters, churchwardens, constables, etc., had to be found that it was inevitable that some would prove dishonest. From this time the official Puritans became most unpopular, and even the obedient parliament of 1656 ventured to put a veto on the direct military government by refusing to endorse or continue the ten per cent. tax on royalists (and others) imposed by Ordinance and levied by the troops. Oliver therefore allowed the major-generals to disappear (1657). They had apparently already felt their own importance and were difficult to control.

Another and more deep-seated cause of discontent was the economic depression and general distress. Oliver was obviously honest, and the large confiscated estates in the west assigned to him provided him with a good personal revenue, but the public finances were worse managed than ever. Not the petty extravagances of Oliver's family—unpopular as they were—could be blamed; there was sheer incompetence in the public offices. Government contractors pledged their own resources, could not get repaid, failed, and were arrested for debt. The soldiers were left without boots because Northampton manufacturers would send no more upon credit. Neither soldiers nor sailors got their pay, far less the pensions voted to the wounded. Widows, who also had pensions voted to them, were begging for very want. Oliver used the navy fund as a stock from which to pay any pressing claims except those naval. Trade was almost at a standstill, for ships dared not put out to Ireland nor for the usual coasting business on the west and southwest because the Protector's foreign policy had brought a host of privateers and pirates into those waters. Expeditions to the West Indies did not compensate for the vast loss of our merchant shipping at the hands of Spaniards and Dutch off our own coasts.

To make up for the loss of royalist fines and the fall in customs the *Excise* was extended. The Commonwealth had first imposed this unpopular levy, and sent searchers into almost every house to assess the amount payable. Cromwell confined the retail tax and search to liquors made for sale, but an excise duty was now levied at the warehouses, factories or shops upon practically every article to be sold, though with a few exceptions for the most necessary purposes; e. g. beer and salt were extremely heavily taxed, but beer for fishermen and salt for salting fish were allowed free. Nothing was too small to consider,¹ while the most important industries, as the woollen manufacture, and the most necessary articles, such as mill-stones, were the most heavily rated.

¹ e. g. *Boxes* are classed as nest-boxes, money-boxes, drawing-boxes, round boxes for marmalade and jelly, or tobacco-boxes.

This universal excise was denounced everywhere as far more oppressive than ship-money, and had its effect in further depressing commerce, and from London to Leeds it was avoided or resisted.

FOREIGN POLICY, 1654-1659

The foreign policy of the Protector was restless. Though one of his first acts was to make peace with the Dutch republic, this was less from love of peace than from love of Protestantism. Cromwell's political view of Europe was that of the past age. He desired that England, as in Elizabeth's time, should head a Protestant league against papal and Spanish tyranny, and even, in a burst of idealising ignorance, described to a sceptical parliament Charles X of Sweden as conquering Poland from a pure and noble Protestant zeal. There was, at all events, a great advantage for his own government in employing the army actively, and thus keeping up its strength, supplies and standard, and taking a portion of it out of England. The long struggle between France and Spain was still running its course, and though the Thirty Years' War in Germany had been concluded, in 1648, by the Peace of Westphalia, fighting still continued in many quarters. France was now really the rising Power, Spain the declining one.

The able French minister, Mazarin, who had succeeded to the task of Richelieu, and the Spanish government which he was fighting, were both desirous of allying with England. In the end Mazarin succeeded. He purchased the English alliance by sending away Charles II and compelling the duke of Savoy to cease massacring the Protestant Piedmontese (Waldenses), and Cromwell thereupon sent troops to aid the French in the Spanish Netherlands (Flanders) and fleets to the Mediterranean and the West Indies. Dunkirk was taken (1658); Blake swept the Mediterranean, rescued some English prisoners from the Dey of Tunis and for the moment suppressed the piracy of that and other North African dens of iniquity. A Spanish treasure fleet was attacked, in the old Elizabethan manner, off Cadiz, and sunk with great loss of life and, alas, of treasure.

Blake's mind was somewhat akin to Cromwell's. In war he devoted a single-minded attention to victory, and already, in 1650, both Portugal and France had been obliged to dismiss the privateers of Prince Rupert and his brother Maurice by the brilliant fighting and the summary reprisals of Blake's fleet. The two princes were actually driven to the West Indies.

Blake is one of the most famous of English admirals; his career of success was partly due to his skill in preparation and his excellent discipline, partly to his splendid gift of leadership. In the Civil War his troopers had responded to his demands with absolute devotion, both in the isolated fort of Lyme and the open town¹

¹ It had no walls but extensive water defences.

of Taunton, which he had held for a year. Now that he was transferred to a sea command, according to the old fashion which had never recognised much difference between land and sea war, the sailors also implicitly trusted him, though the Dutch admiral, Tromp, repeatedly outnumbered and outmanœuvred him. Whatever government ruled England, English ships fought for England; "It is not our business to mind State affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us," ran Blake's famous saying. But the policy of Cromwell and the successes of Blake helped to ruin our Spanish trade and strengthen our maritime competitors, France and Holland.

Another and still more famous public servant at this time was John Milton, who was one of the government secretaries and whose noble sonnets record his enthusiasm for Cromwell and his rule.

So far as the power of the pen went Oliver was not ill supported. James Harrington composed a reply to Hobbes, entitled *Oceana*, in which he gives an idealised picture of England ruled by the perfect judge—Oliver Cromwell. It is, perhaps, noteworthy, that this republican philosopher first laid down as the principle that members of the commonweal must be graded in orders, or classes, *according to their property*, because property alone afforded a measure of the individual's power to serve the state, and the greater share a man had in serving, the greater share should he have in directing.¹

The attack ordered by the Protector upon the Spanish West Indies in 1655 was less successful than the naval campaigns in the Mediterranean. The fleet, under Penn, did its part well, but he and General Venables quarrelled and the soldiers were ill prepared and ill led. St. Domingo, which should have been taken, was not, but as a compensation a joint attack by fleet and troops was made on the smaller Spanish station in Jamaica, which surrendered and was annexed for England, to the vehement disgust of Cromwell, who did not know how valuable it very shortly would prove to be. It was at first only used as a new destination for condemned royalists and other criminals.

The glowing words of Milton and the heroic actions of Blake in the Mediterranean have invested Cromwell's foreign policy with a tradition of glory and the suggestion of a crusade. But Cromwell's crusade was as cruel as those of old: numbers of prisoners, men and women, were exported as slaves to the West Indies, and some of his Scottish Presbyterian captives, quite as Protestant as the Vaudois, were sold, by a refinement of cruelty, to the Roman-catholic republic of Venice, to work till death in the horrible slavery of the galleys.

What Cromwell's foreign adventures did accomplish was to imbue Europe with a respect for the English army. Elizabeth's reign had revealed England as a maritime power, and Charles I had proved

¹ Harrington suggested that it might solve two problems if the Jews were settled in Ireland, instead of England.

that this power could again be made active very quickly. Blake and Rupert, on opposite sides, alike demonstrated the English genius for sea-war. But before Cromwell English military renown had rested only on the personal reputation of a few paladins such as Philip Sidney, the fighting Veres or the Norrises.

The 5000 "Red-coats" who went to Flanders to fight beside the French against Spain covered themselves with glory by the sustained courage with which they steadily pushed their way against the fusillade into the enemy's stronghold, while a battalion, outnumbered and surrounded, refused to surrender, but fought the losing fight fiercely to the end—the first exemplar in Flanders of that grand characteristic of the British army. It is painful to learn that these heroic troops, wounded and penniless, were landed at the Essex ports and left to die, in spite of the desperate efforts of one or two officers and private persons.¹

Dunkirk, when taken from Spain, was handed over to England, as Oliver had previously stipulated. It was the great port of the Spanish Netherlands and held much the same position as formerly Calais. That is to say, it commanded the mouth of the Thames and the Straits of Dover, and whenever war existed (which was habitually) it was a haven of pirates—"Dunkirkers," who devastated our commerce.

Oliver, like Edward III, Henry V and Elizabeth, believed that a port on the continent must be a political advantage. He had even offered to send troops to help the king of Sweden in Poland if England were granted in return a German port (Bremen, then a Swedish annexation). But it is probable that the alarm felt by both France and Holland at the renewed control by England of both sides of the Straits more than counterbalanced the naval and military value of Dunkirk.

Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell (September 3, 1658) a kind of pause fell upon public activities, political and other enterprise was kept at bay by the menace of an army over 50,000 strong, till the latent feud between the army and the parliament men broke out fiercely in 1659.

GEORGE MONCK

For nearly a year Richard Cromwell occupied the seat of Protector. He was a disinterested man with the quiet tastes of a cultivated country squire, who merely waited to see how events should direct his conduct. Charles, "King of Scots" as the English government, rather inconsistently, always termed him, was well advised by his sagacious counsellor Hyde, and perceived that he too need but wait.

Parliament could not bring itself to find money for the army and navy, the pay of which was already in arrears when Oliver died. It was the habit of all the Commonwealth parliaments to vote large

¹ Cf. Manwaring, *Parliament Joan*, for the pathetic story of an earlier Florence Nightingale.

sums to individuals, as pensions or rewards, which were never paid. The soldiers they had paid, so far, mostly by warrants for so much money "in land," meaning confiscated royalist property at home or in Ireland (exactly like the French revolutionary *assignats* of later days), and sometimes an officer would take up his abode on an estate of "£600 in land," or the like, which was usually assigned to him in Ireland. But in England the actual estates or holdings were difficult to obtain, and private soldiers, who could not seize upon an acre or two, had to sell their small warrants to officers or other speculators for much less than the nominal value. In this way many army colonels made fortunes and became large landowners, but the common soldiers naturally grumbled. Before the close of the Protectorate these payments had become hardly more than pious expressions, nothing but Irish land being available and that not locally specified. The troops therefore demanded loudly their rightful pay in money and urged Richard, the new civilian Protector, to trust to them and dissolve the parliament. He did so (1659), but refused to allow any fighting on his behalf, and soon after quietly went away from Whitehall, almost unnoticed, while the army, in order to procure some shadow of a legislature which might obtain taxes to pay them, restored the surviving members of that remainder of the Long Parliament (the *Rump*) which Cromwell had driven away in 1653. The problem of Finance, which had ruined Charles I and which Cromwell had merely held at bay, was ruining the republic.

The Rump behaved with all the lofty dignity of a supreme parliament. It ignored everything which had happened since it last sat in 1653 and intimated to Lambert and Desborough, now the principal generals, that they were dismissed. Lambert easily retorted by turning out the Rump, but then, learning that Monck was setting out with his army from Edinburgh, led his troops northwards.

George Monck, for so long the able administrator of Scotland, had no intention of leaving Lambert, or any other spokesman of Cromwell's soldiery, to set himself up as Protector in England. He was determined to prevent civil war, to secure a permanent settlement and to be a principal figure himself. Fairfax, who had never concealed his dislike of Cromwell's military government, came from his retirement to help him and stood forth as the representative of the gentry of Yorkshire and the city of York. He went to meet Lambert's army on the field of Marston Moor and actually persuaded them to give up their hopeless attempt to continue their military rule of the nation. As Monck and his army advanced from the Border, Lambert's army, corps by corps, joined Fairfax or gradually broke up, and Fairfax, urging a free and complete parliament, travelled to London with Monck. For a few days Monck skilfully preserved an impartial attitude which kept all sides waiting on his decision. He had listened to royalist representations in secret and he now gave the surviving men of the Long Parliament, who at his

invitation once more re-assembled, time to embroil themselves with the City of London while they debated how to 'dismiss' himself. At length, with the support of the capital, he declared for a free parliament and compelled the fragment of the Commons to issue orders for a general election, annul the oaths taken by officials to 'the Commonwealth' and dissolve their own relic of a house, in March 1660.

The joy of London reflected the feelings of the nation. Inquisitive Mr. Pepys, waiting among the crowd in Westminster Hall to pick up news, observed that "it was very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time." The Mayor and Aldermen wanted to entertain Monck's officers in their houses; people pressed money and drink upon his soldiers. "In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow Bells and all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. . . . But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires . . . and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps, there being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the Maypole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump . . . it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it."

As soon as the constituencies, not of the new list made by Cromwell, but of the old Tudor pattern, had elected members, the "Convention Parliament" (as it was called, having been *convened* by the expiring Long Parliament) met on May 1, 1660. A few peers voluntarily assembled at the same time and so preserved the form of a Parliament. Charles had sent to each House a letter, dated from his refuge at Breda, declaring his free pardon and oblivion for the past. The Houses received his messenger and letter with great deference, and declared that according to the fundamental laws of England "the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords and Commons." A week later Charles II was proclaimed "King of England, France, Scotland and Ireland," and a squadron carrying a deputation from both Houses set sail for Holland to beg the king to return. Speaker Lenthall, who had now seen the wheel of revolution come full circle, sent the king £3000. The flagship which was to bring him home was named *The Naseby*, and the leader of the Commons' deputation was Holles, the ringleader in the riot of the 'Five Members.'

XXXV

SOCIETY AND THE CIVIL WAR (1603-1660)

THE few years of Civil War perhaps attract too much of our attention when we review the seventeenth century. The Civil War was but the most striking act in a movement which had already begun to modify English life to such a degree that, while the age of Elizabeth is still to us the age of romance, that of Charles II begins the modern epoch. England was fortunate in that the strong rule of the Tudors put off the appeal to arms to a moment when no foreign power could intervene, and to a generation which was (as a rule) averse from brutality.

Two inconsistent tendencies, towards better organisation and towards individual freedom of choice, clashed in the political and ecclesiastical systems, and in the social system also. These conditions were not greatly affected by the years of warfare, except in the transference of property from one set of families to another. The absence in England of class boundaries had always been remarkable. Barons, knights, squires, merchants and yeomen had intermingled, intermarried and changed places. Merchants, yeomen, artisans, farmers and peasants intermarried and changed places also. Clergy, university scholars, lawyers, sailors, emerged from all ranks and rose to any. Scions of county families became London prentices and returned again as ex-aldermen to dazzle and improve their country homes with their wealth. Villenage, which disappeared, to all intents and purposes, in the fifteenth century, no longer placed any barrier between free and unfree.

But those laws of Elizabeth's parliaments which aimed at coping with poverty and vagabondage produced some unexpected results, so that in the seventeenth century a social chasm opened between those labelled *the poor* and other classes. The poor were those who might become chargeable to their neighbours, or leave children or widows for whom the rates must provide, and to prevent this they were subjected to magisterial supervision. They could not lawfully travel away from their native homes to look for work, nor take a house or a lodging, without permission. This affected their freedom of marrying and set a barrier between them and the rest of the nation and between them and the ladder of prosperity. As there were seldom enough houses for them, since landlords did not care to sacrifice four acres of land to each new cottage, as the Tudor laws required, it was made legal, at the close of the queen's reign,

to build houses *for the poor* upon waste land, without any garden or field attached, but only *the poor* might live in them, and so the property status fixed a barrier which a man could hardly cross. The same magistrates who gave or refused to working men licence to journey or to lodge, also fixed the wages they were to receive and the price of the food they bought. The class which provided the magistrates became, then, the masters of the working class in as real a sense as those feudal lords of the fourteenth century who had been terrified by the Great Rising of 1381. In fact the rules of the Poor Law and all that went with it laid the foundation of a kind of new feudalism; power was again attached to landed property, not by law but by force of circumstances. The magisterial and employing class was now set in opposition to the employed, and the parish was in process of becoming an island from which the peasant could not escape but in which he could not prosper. This condition of things was intensified under the Puritan régime.

The seventeenth century was peculiarly the age of **The Gentry**. The Tudor changes had given to them a great increase of landed property and therefore of wealth, and James I bestowed titles lavishly. "Gentlemen be made good cheap in England," scoffed a cynic. This marks a real change from the customs of Elizabeth's day, when new titles and ostentation were despised by the people.¹ When Essex, after his attack on Cadiz (then called *Cales*) in 1596, had made five dozen knights, they were ridiculed and a rhyme went about:

"A knight of Cales, a gentleman of Wales, and a laird of the North countree—

A yeoman of Kent, with his hopyard-rent, would buy them out all three."

The songs of "The Queen's Old Courtier" and "When this Old Cap was New," voice the same sentiment. But James' new lords and baronets were wealthy men and bought up land from small owners, so that during the seventeenth century large estates were increasing and absentee ownership therewith; *e. g.* from Yorkshire alone, Bellasis, Fairfax, Savile, Scrope (Lords Fauconberg, Fairfax, Savile, and Sunderland), thanks to James, betook themselves, like Vane, to London. The spacious houses which, under James I and Charles I, were rising near London and on old Church lands, and which gave fame to the name of Inigo Jones, the fashionable architect, required surroundings of gardens and parks, and were furnished very handsomely. A considerable number of servants had to be maintained, and their increase was noticeable.

With regard to **Education**, that of the young gentleman (from about 1600) was elaborate, though the education of gentlewomen fell to lower standards. Preparatory schools, kept by private scholars, who were often thoroughly competent, testify to the good standard

¹ "Her majesty honoured her honours by bestowing of them sparingly."

established in the Universities and schools by the labours and expenditure of such patrons as Parker and Laud; tutors were retained in the country halls in increasing numbers. Certain eminent grammar schools in healthy places opened boarding-houses, that the sons of country gentry might have a better education than the village school could provide. Shrewsbury had done this from the beginning; now Harrow, Rugby and several others did the same.

Nor was a good school education considered to be sufficient. Tours on the continent, despite wars, plagues and other dangers, became ordinary undertakings; passports might now be obtained at an office in the Customs House and no longer called for the solicitude of a Crown minister. The young gentleman had to acquire a knowledge of foreign tongues, especially French and Italian, to know something of the law, and to accustom himself to the management of property. It was fashionable to have a taste for music, art, books or antiquities. Charles and Buckingham had excellent taste, and they taught courtiers to appreciate Rubens and Vandyke. France began to lead the fashion in dress and manners, and to some degree in thought and literature, as Spain had done in the sixteenth and Italy in the fifteenth centuries. Dress became more graceful—this was the epoch of lace—and the influence of Charles I and the clergy led to a great improvement in conduct.

The self-reliance of the gentlemen was soon evident in parliament, where the political crisis and the resort to civil war were principally the work of the Commons, the more moderate peers having a much slighter influence, and being so much afraid of a quarrel with the Commons that they always gave way in a difference of opinion.

The wealth of the gentry seemed to be actually increased by a decline in agriculture. Absentee owners, squires continually busied with judicial and administrative work, or perhaps devoted to the fashionable distractions of the time, from cock-fighting to the frequenting of puritan sermons round half a county, hardly made for practical improvements. Enclosures, which benefited the large owner, made the tillage of the peasant worse—for lack of pasture and manure—and corn, therefore, was often scanty, and consequently sold for high prices, while taxation, up to 1640, was light, thanks to the persistent refusal of the gentleman to pay.

The Tudor system, which had placed an efficient administration in the hands of the gentry, fostered in them that arrogant spirit which had already surprised Elizabeth's Recorder of London. They had in the sixteenth century helped to work the special Councils which brought into subjection the old nobility, but in the seventeenth they resented similar treatment being meted out to themselves. Innumerable incidents illustrate the dictatorial attitude of the county families to their inferiors and their haughty defiance of government. When a painted window of questionable design was placed in Salisbury Cathedral, a local lawyer and city officer went up and broke it with his stick. The High Commission Court inter-

vened, not to justify that particular window, but because, as Laud pointed out, there were other means which the aggrieved could have had recourse to, and mere violence could not be suffered even from an eminent lawyer.

In Somerset, a county remarkable, at that time, for the independence and turbulence of the commonalty, the magistrates told Chief Justice Richardson that the worst troubles occurred at parish (church) feasts, held on Sundays. He therefore sanctioned their making an order forbidding any feast or games to be held upon Sundays, which practically amounted to forbidding them to be held at all, since most saints' days were abolished and there were no half-holidays as yet. Richardson further directed this order to be read in the churches by the clergy. This was an arbitrary act and an unprecedented assumption of authority over the clergy, and Charles I sent a message to Judge Richardson to rebuke him. The judge took no notice, and Laud, who had but lately left the diocese of Bath and Wells for London, called him before the High Commission Court for entrenching on the sphere of the bishop. Nineteenth of Somerset no doubt blessed the bishop for defending their liberty, but the judge, famous for his bitter tongue, merely sneered at Laud and the Court, "I have been nearly choked by a pair of lawn sleeves," he said. The king then, to prevent such interference with either clergy or peasantry, had his father's Declaration of Sports (of 1618) revised, and directed that it should be read in the churches, to show what games might lawfully be played by persons who had attended their parish church (*Book of Sports*, 1633). Thereupon a number of clergy refused to read it, on the ground that it was against their conscience to inculcate the 'profanation' of the Sabbath. Since 1595, when a book had been published to argue that the regulations of the Jewish Sabbath ought to be transferred to the Christian Sunday, this attitude had become usual with puritan clergy and gentry. Rather than cause more agitation over the question, Charles cancelled the order to the clergy, but the *Book of Sports* remained the lawful standard. The whole incident is characteristic of the arbitrary temper of the puritan gentlemen and lawyers, of Laud's fearlessness, and of the king's hesitation.

Another characteristic of feudalism appeared among the gentlemen in the quarrels carried on from father to son. The feud in Yorkshire between the Saviles and the Wentworths had a large share in the catastrophe of Strafford, that between the Riches and the Blounts affected the parliamentary struggle. Similarly, the failure of Charles I in the war was in part due to the treachery of a number of county magnates who aimed at securing the fortunes of their own houses in any case: such men as Lord Savile, the elder Vane, the younger Goring, two of the Digbys, Hotham, Lord Holland (a Rich, Warwick's brother), or Lord Newport (Blount).

Up to 1642 the balance of feeling among the gentry was against

the arbitrary policy of the king, who could with difficulty find sufficient ministers, and therefore had to get the bishops to hold offices or to confide them to untrustworthy men. The gentlemen meant to govern and not to pay taxes. Hyde, Falkland, Capel and Wentworth had been with the Opposition in the parliaments of Charles I.

But the outbreak of war altered the position. Not only the reckless cavaliers and the Roman-catholics rallied round the king; thoughtful men such as Hyde and Capel, dutiful men such as Verney and Falkland, came, however reluctantly, from the homes they loved, and the loyalty of numbers of the smaller gentry gave the king, for the first time, a great party. It was the vindictiveness of certain powerful men, not the hatred of any large number of gentry, which procured the destruction of Strafford. The persecution of the bishops and of the Episcopalian clergy by the Puritans strengthened still further the reaction of this section of society towards the Crown and the Church.

Thus the staunch leaders of the parliamentary party came to rely for support more and more upon the townsmen. The prominent officers of Cromwell's army were as often men of the business classes as younger sons of squires, and the preachers who were the moving force of the popular cause, in army or city, earnest, honest and narrow fanatics, such as Hugh Peters, often belonged to the business class or to that of the small freeholders and farmers, commonly called yeomen.

One great difficulty in attempting to estimate the effect of the Civil War on society at large arises from the differences in the various parts of England. Every county should really be considered by itself, for perhaps at no time was it more true that "*English history is local history.*"

With regard to the **food supply**—as armies were small, till Cromwell's Protectorate, and, owing to needs of food and forage, did not concentrate till just before a battle, local commanders were many and could protect their friends and spite their enemies. The condition of the roads determined marches and meeting-places; the downs were continually being ridden over and the open fields of corn might get trampled and cattle be driven off. Still, the reports of food shortage do not suggest that it was especially bad during the war. There were continual times of dearth throughout the century. In many places supplies were not to be got when once the usual connection was upset. Thus, shortly before 1642, Sussex ports were complaining that their corn supplies were cut off because such quantities were "taken up" (with purveyance orders) by contractors for the king's ships: at the same time they were petitioning that some king's ships might be sent to protect them from pirates—a bit of evidence which bears on the *ship-money* problem. In Nottinghamshire a dearth had lasted from 1619 to 1623. It was always a poor county till coal became sufficiently worked to enable the carts which brought corn to take loads of

coal back. This became a regular traffic in the sixteenth century (and helped to build up Lord Willoughby's fortune), but in Elizabeth's time the poor of the county town had "lived much upon pea-bread." Gloucestershire in the seventeenth century was growing beans to feed the unhappy negroes in Bristol slave-ships.

"Corn" does not always mean wheat. Barley and oatmeal still formed a chief part of the national food, usually in the form of porridge, which was as important as bread. Plum-porridge, the earliest form of Christmas pudding, betokens the large increase in the Levant trade since 1600. At no earlier time could an impost on *currants* have provided a test-case (Bate's case) and produced parliamentary excitement.

It is especially in conduct and habits that we should expect to see a difference produced by the Civil War. But it may be doubted whether any great difference was made except in the counties close enough to London to be directly controlled by the central government, since parliamentary Ordinances were as easily ignored as the statutes. Life in the North Riding of Yorkshire appears to have been conducted in an orderly way very much as usual; life in Somerset can hardly have been more disorderly than before, when the countryside cared for neither king nor courts, while unhappy magistrates complained that they had to work all day long the whole week (1626), and men loathed the office of constable because the rogues they arrested could revenge themselves with impunity.

The appeals of the House of Commons to the mobs of London had further results than the honourable members at all intended. Violent crowds with arms and tools plundered and destroyed the royal palaces of Theobalds and Eltham, the famous Crosses of Cheapside and Charing, Lambeth Palace and other noble monuments. Anything rendered unpopular by a zealous orator suffered as soon as the mob no longer feared punishment. Westminster Abbey itself was sacked and the Confessor's tomb broken to pieces.

Similar scenes on a smaller scale were easily stirred. In Kent the orders of the House of Commons to seize the horses and property of a number of gentlemen known for royalists produced mobs bent on plunder and destruction. At Gloucester the corporation sent to confiscate the house of an unpopular squire and the mob forced him to flight. A lady in the north asks:

"How 'tis for the liberty of the subject to take all from them that are not of their mind and to pull down their houses and to imprison them and leave them to the mercy of the unruly multitude—I cannot find that this is the liberty of the subject; nor do I find that it is in God's law to take arms against their lawful king to depose him. Surely 'tis not peace which they desire. Sure they trust in that mighty host."¹

The passage of a body of horse through a county meant the seizing of hay and horses, or provisions, for an inadequate payment,

¹ [The Scottish army]. Lady Sydenham, quoted in Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, I., 19.

and might mean inconvenient billeting for a few days in towns on their route. The garrisoning of great houses for the king, and the reduction of them by the parliamentary troops, brought about much destruction of property, when fragments of pillage might be secured by villagers or troopers. Still, there was nothing so universal as the earlier pillage of the religious houses and churches under Henry VIII and Edward VI. When squires were in exile and the magistrates not strong, there was poaching of deer, game and fish, and parks were robbed of timber or even cut down entirely. It was the natural retaliation of the impoverished peasantry upon recently enclosed parks.¹

The soldiery of both sides expected plunder, and if Rupert's men thought rich shopkeepers their proper prey, Cromwell's looked to ransack the squire's house and park. A rhyme preserved in Radnorshire records their disgust at finding none.

Poverty necessarily follows in the track of an army, whether it takes what it finds or is fed, warmed and clothed by contributions levied sedately through local officials whose own houses were held as security. Northumberland and Durham complained grievously of successive ravages by the troops, including Cromwell's on their way to Scotland. Oxfordshire, the scene of incessant marching and fighting, is said to have suffered severely. Essex declared itself to be nearly ruined by the parliamentary army, as the men lived "at free quarters" (*i. e.* took what they wanted) when their pay was not forthcoming. In Dorset, Wilts and Somerset the peasantry banded together (*Clubmen*) to defend their homes and stocks of food from Cavalier and Roundhead equally. If eventually the Dorset villagers helped the parliamentary side it was due to the misconduct of the younger Goring and his horse and the better discipline of Blake's garrison at Lyme.

The towns, of course, suffered with the villages. Every town in Lancashire was 'sacked'—*i. e.* plundered—except Manchester, which was, however, devastated by plague (1641). Yorkshire and its towns suffered little and Norfolk still less. But Lincoln, Northampton, Leicester and Salisbury were left half in ruins. A burnt or plundered town, such as Colchester, Marlborough, or Faringdon, could not quickly replace its poor-house or its schools. The wool trade of the Stroud valley and the Cotswold open towns was nearly destroyed, while Worcester and Bristol, on the contrary, showed very few marks of hardship. Some small places, as Birmingham and Bolton, recovered very quickly. It is remarkable that the Eastern Counties Association, formed on behalf of parliament, kept war away from its own district and carefully protected its churches from desecration, as did royalist Somerset and a few other districts.

But even in the most harried parts the plundering of the worst troops, such as Maurice's horse and Waller's infantry, was merciful

¹ Oxfordshire is said to have been totally denuded of trees. See also the Verney Letters.

compared with the horrors seen in France, or, worse still, in the Netherlands and Germany.

The demands of war on industry may have stimulated some trades, *e. g.* the Northampton boot trade and the Liverpool transit to Ireland, but, on the other hand, the destruction of woods and the ruin of landholders and mine-owners ended the iron trade of Sussex.

The wastage of woods and forests which had been observable under Elizabeth grew worse in the seventeenth century. Charles I had made efforts to keep a hold on the forests partly because of the shortage of timber for the navy. His schemes for drainage in the Fen districts and the Isle of Axholme have been already mentioned. A Dutch engineer and speculator, Vermuyden, was empowered to drain large tracts and was paid by an assignment of land. Probably from want of skill, he was not altogether successful, and in clearing some lands submerged others. There were also many villagers and marsh-dwellers whose fishing, pasture, etc., were threatened by the operations, and others who were as indignant as the earl of Essex to find that "royal" lands no longer meant a no-man's land to be exploited by themselves, as they had come to consider the Crown forests and marshes ought to be. As soon as war placed royal authority in abeyance the works of Vermuyden and of the earl of Bedford were attacked by the peasantry and yeomanry; labouring men turning out with footballs as if for fun, cut banks and sluices, and the whole returned to its marsh condition for a while.¹

The roads do not seem to have been seriously unsafe and travel was constant and regular throughout the country. The *Post* continued much as usual, and was improved under Cromwell. The system was that of farming, or leasing, the post of a certain district or route to an agent who ran it at his own risk and took the profits. Inns on main roads which contracted to keep the horses required by the post-master could easily keep horses also for travellers to hire. Goods still continued to be carried on pack-horses in most country districts; on the larger roads near London small carts could be used. The narrow raised causeways still to be seen by some old country roads, *e. g.* in Surrey and Sussex or Warwickshire and Derbyshire, were probably paved in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the pack-horses to tread. Coaches were coming into use in this century, but only for the wealthy, and seldom beyond the towns and the main roads to London and Dover.

The roads themselves were, as a rule, growing worse. Some had been in old time repaired by religious persons, and were neglected after the destruction of the monasteries. Towns and villages grudged an outlay on roads chiefly used by travellers from other places: in the country the occupiers of lands bordering the roads were supposed to mend the way. An Act of Cromwell required each parish

¹ See the admirable description in a tale called *The Manuscript in a Red Box*.

to mend its roads, and to elect surveyors to attend to the business. The well-to-do (with income £50 a year and upwards) were to provide horses and expenses, and the less well-to-do, the labour. But though successive Acts defined the law and strengthened the powers of magistrates, parishes contrived to shirk the ruinous burden. It was not unusual for horses to be bogged or lamed even on a main road in Kent, or for travellers to lose their way on a murky day on a main road to York, or to be held up by thieves close to London. But though robbery, from the early Middle Ages till the railway era, was always a possible incident, the parish constables and the sheriff's *posse*—perhaps some thirty or forty armed men—were (at least in central and eastern England) usually efficient enough. Even *Dogberry* successfully arrested the actual criminals. John Evelyn tells how he was robbed on the way from Tonbridge in 1652, by a couple of footpads, as he was riding by the hedges for the sake of shade, but within two days nearly all his lost property was recovered and restored to him. Although known to have royalist sympathies, he was able to travel to Paris and back when he chose. His brief diary of one journey (July 1650) shows how little restraint was used just then. He embarked at Calais at 3 p.m. "in the packet-boat; hearing there was a pirate then also setting sail, we had security from molestation, and so with a fast S.W. wind in seven hours we landed at Dover. The busy watchman would have us to the major to be searched, but the gentleman being in bed we were dismissed. Next day, being Sunday, they would not permit us to ride post, so that afternoon our trunks were visited. The next morning by 4 we set out for Canterbury, where I met with my Lady Catherine Scot [who] would needs carry me in her coach to Gravesend."

He found it possible to go again to France with only an ancient passport, "it being so difficult to procure one of the rebels without entering into oaths, which I never would do. At Dover money to the searchers and officers was as authentic as the hand and seal of Bradshaw himself [President of the Council], where I had not so much as my trunk opened." Nor was there any difficulty or danger to prevent him from travelling with his wife over half England, seeing the sights and visiting wealthy relatives who expected their guests to remain for perhaps a month at a time, and arranged feasts, shooting or picnics for weeks together.

Aliens also were granted ready access to England, though from Elizabeth to Charles I Protestant refugees found it hard to procure local permission to settle. From York to Sussex, every place objected to them, nor did they generally retain their nationality through a second generation, except in London and Kent. Laud at one time wished to constrain them to join the English Church, but the French Huguenots were finally left in possession of their own Church and services. Scotsmen filtered into England throughout this century, Irishmen dared not venture under the Commonwealth.

Cromwell's Council debated whether the ancient law against the Jews should be repealed, and, though it was not, the Jews were tacitly admitted, the law, by Cromwell's order, not being enforced against them.

The Huguenots, at all events, brought both skill and capital into this country; jealousy was the cause of the local objections. More dangerous were the pauper immigrants, Irish and gypsies, who, before 1641, largely reinforced the wandering or tramp population which, in the western counties at least, was a permanent problem. There was no connection between the different county systems, and all that the local constables could do was to move the beggars on into another parish. Sometimes inhuman callousness is revealed by the local records, mothers and babies, in especial, being practically murdered.

Health suffered, for Nemesis came in the plague, which ravaged the land so continuously as to form a permanent terror. London had suffered habitually under Elizabeth; in the two coronation years, 1603 and 1625, the outbreaks were as dreadful as in 1665, and spread almost over the entire country, nor did the plague disappear when the worst fury had spent itself. In Yorkshire, as in London, bad outbreaks are recorded in all the years 1605 to 1610 and 1622 to 1625, and in the south of England in 1641 and 1654. Evidently there was permanent infection. Typhus sometimes accompanied it, and early in the century small-pox, though as yet of a comparatively mild type, was becoming common. The north was devastated by it several times (1630-1646). Possibly the condition of many districts was insanitary, but the experience of Somerset in 1641 seems to show that the wandering beggars were a principal cause of infection, for whereas the open villages near Bridgwater were half depopulated, Taunton saved itself from an outbreak by establishing an isolation camp and forbidding strangers to come into the town.

The Somerset beggars were largely Irish, for the county complained that Bristol—the great port of the south-west for Ireland—was for ever deporting Irishmen whom the skippers (having no food for them) as often as not simply landed on the south bank of the Avon, whence they invaded Somerset, blackmailing the peasantry, till the constables could round them up and deport them to Ireland anew, at the county's expense, from Bridgwater.

Happily better practices were coming into vogue in medicine and the care of health, probably an effect of foreign example. On the foundation laid, under Henry VIII, by Linacre, little new science was raised until the famous William Harvey (died 1657) brought back to England the medical knowledge of Italy, and himself discovered the circulation of the blood, which made scientific medicine and surgery possible. The destruction of his papers by parliamentary plunderers, at Oxford, was a blow to discovery. He devoted his life to medicine, in the hospital of

St. Bartholomew and by help of the Royal College of Medicine. Thenceforth observation and skill began steadily to replace the medieval methods based on astrology and old superstitions, and the general health began to improve.

Other sciences were being studied also. Modern mathematics were founded by Galileo in Italy and brought thence to England, and the work of Bacon in time influenced men to turn from mere quotation of ancient philosophers and medieval compilers to direct observation of Nature and the practice of actual experiments.

In London a most necessary improvement had been wrought by one of the much-abused patent companies of Charles I, the *New River Company*, for providing the city with water.

Nevertheless, the old notion that the science of Nature was really magic, connected with predictions of the future, with the making of gold by "the philosopher's stone," or with the worship of the devil, died hard, and even Queen Elizabeth had faith in the astrologer, Dr. Dee, and gave him the wardenship of Manchester to live on, that he might try to turn base metals into gold.

The prevalent **superstition** of this age was not a simple survival. That close study of Old Testament history in which the Puritan excelled, as well as the severe Calvinist dogmas upon sin, certainly strengthened belief in the devil's working upon humanity, and the belief, common since the fifteenth century, that wizards and witches possessed magical powers and ought to be exterminated, at last amounted to a popular passion. James I had persecuted ferociously the "race of witches" in Scotland, and a new and more cruel Act was made against them in England (1604). In many places, especially Lancashire and the eastern counties, the puritan preachers stirred up the mob to hunt for witches among old women and girls, while an eminent Chief Justice encouraged the crusade. Torture was used to make the poor creatures 'confess.' It is said that in seventy-six years some 70,000 persons were burned or hanged for witchcraft. The Puritan repression of *Arminian* or *popish* 'superstition' appears to have only left the more room for a more cruel kind. The fear of the devil was the larger part of religion in many cases.

The severity of the puritan attitude towards pleasure was not without effect upon the habits of the middle and the poorer classes in most or all parts of England. Sport and play of all kinds—with the partial exception of football—was forbidden or discouraged. Maypoles and dancing were treated as idolatrous. Parliament forbade stage plays in 1647. Village feasts and wakes were abolished; holidays ceased. It was dangerous to be merry, especially at Christmas or Whitsuntide; even plum-porridge was 'superstitious': nothing but the tippling-house was left for the recreation of the poor and unlettered in the towns.

The effect of compulsory seriousness was seen in **Trade**, for the well-to-do erected work into an ideal and saw in toil and honesty

the sole merit and scope of the workmen—"the poor." The sober, conscientious puritan shopkeeper, clothier, or iron-master had closed to himself and his family many of the obvious fields of activity and after 1660 the law closed some others. But his Old Testament standards of life taught him to regard prosperity, as Cromwell had regarded victory, as a plain mark of Divine approval, and into the channels of business he poured his energies with a religious fervour. From the age of Puritanism dates the devotion of a very large section of the middle class to the making of money as an aim, in itself. In the Middle Ages men had, on the contrary, assumed that to conduct work and business with sole attention to one's own 'singular profit' was mean and reprehensible. In the Tudor Age it was assumed that such business was to be fostered only if it might redound to the strength and wealth of the nation; after the puritan supremacy we find *singular profit* accepted as a sufficient and actually praiseworthy motive and its pursuit regarded by statesmen as meriting protection and even honour. Certainly the honesty of the Puritans worked in time a much-needed reform in English business and founded its continental reputation.

But the acceptance of the ideal of wealth increased the gap between rich and poor. Money provided no common interests, as sport and agriculture had formerly done. Drunkenness and squalor increased, and the dreadful custom of forced child labour, already begun, and actually praised, in Tudor times, spread more and more. Wages were low in this century, on the whole. In counties where local industries existed among small freeholders, or where ample open lands were left (*e. g.* Lancashire, Leicestershire, Somerset) low wages need not mean poverty, but in purely agricultural districts they spelled degradation. "The power of the gentry is the chief fear and danger of the good subject," said Bacon, early in the century in defence of the Council of Wales. A mere change of landholders made no difference to the general situation.

The years of the Commonwealth and Protectorate were not years of commercial prosperity. War and its effects naturally discouraged business and foreigners again monopolised our fisheries. Cromwell, with all his good intentions, was unable to stimulate any improvement in agriculture, which long continued to suffer from the effects of the changes of the Civil War. The Protector's unfortunate foreign policy further injured our over-seas trade. The port of London suffered disastrously, and the Russia Company was extinguished. Probably this was one reason for the complacency with which the Londoners beheld the return of the king and the old régime. London, however, had never been enthusiastic for Oliver; the House of Commons of the Long Parliament better reflected the views of the capital. A doleful account of commercial prospects in London was given by a friend to a country gentleman who, in 1659, wished to apprentice a younger son.

"I do not know," he wrote, "as these uncertain times are, whom to advise you to. The Spanish trade at present you know is lost, which was almost a fourth part of our employment. To the east country Hamburg trade you know I was brought up myself, which is accounted the surest trade; but neither my brother nor myself could find any great good to be done by it, only some ancient rich men, who follows it as close as the pack-horses goes weekly. For the Barbadoes, New England and all the Islands, though many gets money by that trade, yet I should never advise any friend of mine to breed up his son to it. And for the Turkey, East, and West India trade, without it be some particular men that have the knack of it, not one in three of them thrives, so that those which do it makes them so high that they ask and have £500 and sometimes more with an apprentice."

The young man, a Verney, was in the end bound for seven years at a fee of £400, and a penalty of £1000 if he defaulted. After nine years in the London house he spent twelve more managing his firm's business in Aleppo, and there appears to have made sufficient to retire and marry at home. A great fortune, he thought, could not be made by any honest man in the Eastern trade.

But if, under the Protector, commerce languished, it was otherwise with fashion. The military discipline exerted in country districts was held to be unnecessary in the capital, and the feeling of security which Oliver's rule bestowed was evidenced by an outburst of dissipation in London and its neighbourhood, which sober people thought scandalous. Horse-racing was popular with high and low; gambling and cards returned; fashionable ladies began to paint their faces, in imitation of Parisian modes, and perukes of false hair, also brought from Paris, began to appear in barbers' shops. Cromwell's own chaplain complained that his Highness' family was so much addicted to amusement that prayers and sermons were deserted. When the Protector's daughter was married to the heir of the wealthy earl of Warwick, people were scandalised by hearing violins and trumpets "and much mirth with frolics, besides mixed dancing—a thing hitherto counted profane."¹

Less grievous evidences of luxury were the ever-increasing use of tobacco and the introduction of two rare new drinks from the Levant, coffee and chocolate.

The extravagant fulminations expended on the luxury of London suggest that Puritanism had hardly purified society when it got—as it did in the whole south-eastern region—the upper hand. Students of local records state that the evidence is against the existence of any such depravity as the popular preachers were wont to denounce in the courtly and gentle classes. The indictment of immorality in the gentry was as false as that of Romanism in the clergy.

¹ She insisted upon a religious service and Oliver permitted it. Afterwards he had the courageous clergyman narrowly watched, and when he was detected passing royalist letters on an attempted plot he was hanged.

It is not surprising that the Civil Wars gave rise to the earliest germ of **Newspapers**. The excitement of public events caused a great increase in speechifying and pamphlet writing. From Elizabeth's time, sermons and politics had been very near akin and pamphlets were circulated to stir up feeling, religious and political. The Opposition was always more active than Government in this respect, and the struggle with Charles I was marked by a flood of pamphlets. There was little check upon either speech or literature during the Commonwealth. Selden gibed at the variety of 'lectures' delivered in the churches by army officers, tradesmen or ministers indiscriminately: "as if a great lord should make a feast and he would have his cook dress one dish, his coachman another, his porter another." The lively diatribes of popular preachers filled the London churches with crowds seeking amusement.

A principal reason why the king and the bishops had laid stress on the duty of attending the parish church was because the unauthorised preachers were always Puritans and nearly always politicians, whereas the king and the bishops were not desirous of making the sermon a political weapon or even the principal point of the service: "If you preach, you must pray," was Laud's rule. When the bishops were impeached by the Long Parliament the Puritan's preference for sermons had full liberty.

Sermons were not the sole means of spreading news and government propaganda. The general thirst for news had produced in Elizabeth's time professional letter-writers who turned out *newsletters* of which people might buy copies to post to their friends. London, Paris and Amsterdam were the great centres of news and gossip, especially the last-named, which, owing to its world-wide trade, was the focus of political and commercial intelligence for half Europe.

From the moment when Charles I left London the parliamentary government perceived the importance of guiding public opinion, since rumours spread with wonderful rapidity. It began by embodying its "case" in proclamations, but after the war had become active it began to issue printed sheets of news called the *Gazette*, and this useful, though not always truthful, publication was continued by succeeding governments. The larger part of the journals of the time, however, were private ventures, combining the authorised news of the *Gazette* with the gossip of the newsletter.

XXXVI

THE CHURCH (1640-1667)

THE outburst of violence which accompanied the beginning of the Civil War grievously ruined the material instruments of religion; most of what the iconoclasts of Edward VI had spared was swept away by those of the parliament. Organs and windows were smashed, books burnt, sacred vessels stolen, and only fragments of the glorious pre-Reformation art in stained glass were left for a future age to steal. Destruction was accompanied by profanity: a general described with complacency how his soldiers, hearing the music of choirmen and organ in a cathedral, ran in and began dancing in the choir in derision. A mob ransacked Lambeth and tore the bones of Parker from the grave. St. Paul's was used by Cromwell as a cavalry barracks, and when one aisle fell down, for lack of repairs, a proclamation forbade people to steal the lead of the roof, which the Lord Mayor was empowered to use for water-pipes in the City, this being the time when the water of the New River Company was laid to the principal private houses and to the public conduits.

The acceptance of the Covenant in 1643 made Presbyterianism the established religion, and in London and Lancashire that system was set up; but the *classis*, or committee, for investigating the morals of the community made it extremely unpopular in most other counties, and though incumbents had to take the oath to the Covenant, the system was often only nominally set up.

From 1644, however, began a steady ejectment of the Episcopalian clergy which, after a lull in 1649, became again under Cromwell increasingly severe, till some 2000 incumbents had been expelled from their churches, not counting, it seems, 700 parishes in Wales, from which the Commons had ordered *all* the parish clergy to be expelled, as the beginning of an evangelical mission. In 1645 a parliamentary book of services, *The Directory*, was declared to be compulsory in all churches. But after the king's execution (1649) the new oath ordered by the Long Parliament, called *The Engagement*, an oath of obedience "to the Commonwealth of England as it is now established without a king or House of Lords," which was tendered to clergy and officials instead of the oath to the Covenant, was so worded that royalists could subscribe it (being a simple undertaking, according to the law of Henry VII, not to agitate against the existing government, temporary though they might hope

it would prove). Many were therefore able to satisfy the requirements of the commissioners. The Presbyterians, too, had to turn some of their energy to dealing with the consciences of their other opponents, Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers and other groups of separatists, and where there was a dead weight of local opposition to their inquisitorial proceedings they often did not persist in interfering. In Norfolk, most puritan of counties before the war, at all events as regards the well-to-do squires, the changes were so far from being accepted by the population that a small number of the extremists petitioned parliament, in 1647, for a still more "thorough and speedy reformation," because "the common people" persisted in resorting to their ejected clergy and hearing them use the Prayer-book.

But on Cromwell's accession to power a more active persecution of the episcopal ordained clergy began. He acted on the lines of the *Instrument of Government*, which reflected his own principles and practice. This directed "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ . . . shall be protected in the . . . exercise of their religion, so that they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others and the disturbance of the public peace . . . provided that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy nor to such as hold forth . . . licentiousness." Quakers, therefore, whose consciences frequently led them to obtrusive public testifying, crying aloud in the streets, interrupting the service, or refusing to remove their hats, or to kneel or stand, when everybody else did so, were still prosecuted as disturbers of the peace, and certain other extravagant sectaries under the last clause of the Instrument. Episcopalians were now for the first time subject to persecution by the mere fact of being such. Cromwell, in fact, had to regard Episcopalians as Elizabeth had Roman-catholics, they could not possibly feel loyal to him, and he endeavoured to suppress them from political expediency. Cromwell's Board of Triers turned out all clergy who had been ordained by a bishop, and he used soldiers to enforce the earlier prohibitions of observing Christmas and other Church feasts. To celebrate the Communion at those times was punished by imprisonment and fine. Marriage was made wholly a civil contract and to celebrate it by a religious rite was penal, though there were many persons who braved the law by secret services.

Finally, in 1655 Cromwell by proclamation forbade any ejected clergyman to keep a school, or any gentleman to keep such a clergyman in his house as chaplain or tutor. Many hundreds of clergy with their families were thus driven to destitution. Many died from their privations, especially those confined in the hideous prisons of that time, and those whom the Protector sent to slavery in the West Indies. They were kept under hatches and therefore most perished on the way. Their wives might be seen begging bread for their children. Oxford and Cambridge had long since been 'purified' and they could find no relief there. But sometimes, beyond the

purview of the major-generals, the new minister might use his influence in a Christian spirit, as did in Worcestershire the noble-hearted Richard Baxter, who left the old incumbent in Kidderminster parsonage and exerted himself to procure tolerance throughout the county. Here and there, as in some quiet country districts of Surrey, the people connived at the continued residence of their old pastors; in London itself the government had felt it politic to permit two Episcopalian chapels to continue, one of which was served by Fuller, till closed by Cromwell's order in 1655. Bishop Juxon was left undisturbed in his remote country house in Warwickshire, where he relieved many of his clergy, and the famous Archbishop Ussher (of Dublin) was unmolested till his death, and was even decreed by Cromwell's parliament a public funeral—of which his daughter, however, had to pay the expenses. In the strictest secrecy a few bishops still ordained clergy, but catechising and plain scriptural teaching ceased, so that in some parts the young generation was growing up ignorant of religion, as in the darkest period of Tudor rule. Any clergyman with private enemies lived in continual danger. The Dean of Wells was murdered by his gaoler, whom the jury acquitted, while a clergyman who at the funeral read the burial service was flung into prison and left there till he died. Throughout, the best men were worst treated, such as the saintly Hammond, Cromwell's aim being to terrify the rest.

In Wales a somewhat worthier effort was made. After the expulsion of the clergy, the people of a Welsh parish complained to the Protector that only itinerant preachers visited them, who would do nothing but preach, so that they were left without any services or sacraments, and could not even have their children baptised, although their tithes were rigorously collected for lay purposes. It was a typical condition, and to remedy it Cromwell at length, with much exertion, succeeded in finding Independent and other ministers to evangelise Wales. Books were useless, since none could read Welsh and few English, but the zealous teaching of the new missionaries stirred enthusiasm, and thus was first created the vigorous nonconformity of Wales.

The Puritan always placed preaching above 'ministering.' He particularly objected to the word *priest* as being popish and heathen. A minister should be one who felt himself to have received *a call* and proclaimed it. An invitation from a parish or congregation was an obvious call.

The difficulty lay in drawing a line. It was inevitable that more might feel a call to preach than to listen: hence the growth of many small congregations, whom the Presbyterians called *sectaries*, and among whom a good many felt bound—or privileged—to testify against the religious observances of their neighbours. In a Somerset village (Williton) a number of young men who had played at ball against the east end of the little church and broken the windows had defied the justice (1633) by declaiming—"Where is *the Church*?

the Church is where the congregation is assembled, though it be at the beacon upon the top of the hill of Quantock !” In a thriving village of Essex the vicar was perturbed by strangers coming in and sitting in their hats, but dared not take notice for fear of a riot. This vicar of Earl’s Colne was a strict Puritan, a zealous preacher and in private houses a copious leader of prayer. He so anxiously conformed to the strict Calvinist view as to refrain from celebrating the Lord’s Supper for twelve years, and when at length he did so, though he manfully resisted the claim of his elders to examine the morals of those who might desire to communicate, he found that only twelve persons ventured to do so. But his conduct, though exactly satisfactory to his squire (a kinsman of Cromwell’s) and to the dispensers of parliamentary emoluments, was strongly resented by most of his parishioners, and he found himself ignored by nearly all but the few well-to-do people.¹

If the distinctive mark of the earlier, or Elizabethan, Puritans was their exaltation of the importance of logic, that of the later Puritans was their use of a pseudo-scriptural unctio which soon became an almost conventional trick of language. What most irritated their helpless neighbours and audiences was, probably, their self-righteousness, and they were, at length, generally set down as hypocrites. In the pulpits of London a fresh, but no better, fashion was set by irresponsible orators whose abusive or far-fetched absurdities drew crowds and sometimes provoked audible mirth.

Spiritual comfort and strength, which multitudes longed for, amid grief, fear and civil ruin, was not to be derived from either ribaldry or logic in the pulpits. People could only retreat into themselves and in place of Common Prayer have recourse to family or private devotion. At length, in 1658, appeared an epoch-making book, *The Whole Duty of Man*,² which went far to supply the vacant place of religious guidance. This work was not of the then favourite type of pious meditations published for friends to read, but rather a guide and admonition towards a personal religious life. It became at once widely appreciated and may be said to have set a new standard, that of personal, non-controversial devoutness linked, not with doctrine, but with a life of Christian conduct.

The proscription of the Church and the Prayer-book was understood to be Cromwell’s personal policy. Upon the news of his death people did not wait for permission but demonstrated their feelings and hopes, in many a parish, by fetching their old parson from his retirement and installing him in the church, to pray from the long-forbidden Prayer-book.

To many men the effects of the Commonwealth’s experiments in the sphere of religion brought a conviction of the evil of State interference. This feeling, confused with a belief that monarchy

¹ *Josselin’s Diary* (R.H.S. Camden), an illuminating record.

² An anonymous book, but probably composed by Dr. Stern, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, afterwards Archbishop of York.

and the ancient system of rule bound up with it was the one safe system for the State, produced wide agreement with a doctrine which in 1660 was for the first time stated by the clergy—which was in truth rather a state of mind than a doctrine—that the king possessed a right of authority which was divinely bestowed upon him, over and above any powers defined by the laws of the land, and that to resist his authority was therefore wrong. It was a re-statement of the *divine right* principle of James I. Churchmen should be obedient, and even if their king should command wrong, so that they could not conscientiously obey him, they must not resist openly, but refrain from action and passively suffer such punishment as he might inflict upon them. *Divine right* and *passive obedience* became for a generation the passwords of the Anglican clergy.

It was the intention of Charles II, upon his restoration, to announce universal **tolerance** for all religious opinions in England. Moved but little, himself, by religious ideas, but sufficiently intellectual to doubt the wisdom or efficacy of persecution, he was already inclined to prefer the Roman teachings and ritual to any other. He had a hope that a system of general tolerance among Protestant parties might pave the way to a tolerance of Roman-catholicism, and the *Savoy Conference* met at his command in the old Savoy palace to see whether a 'comprehension' (or union) of Churchmen and Puritans were possible.

The leaders of the Church and Hyde, the king's chief counsellor, thought it possible to include within the Church some of the moderate Puritans, among whom Baxter, the eminent Presbyterian, with some others, also hoped to arrive at a compromise. Baxter suggested a combination of the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems, the bishop sitting as head of a synod, but he also stipulated, not only for the abolition of ceremonies long objected to by the Puritans (kneeling at the Holy Communion, the sign of the Cross in baptism, surplices, etc.), but the abolition of all parts of the Church service which stated or implied the sacramental nature of Sacraments. No compromise was possible between churchmen who were conscientiously convinced of the actual importance of Baptism and the Eucharist, and Presbyterians or Independents equally conscientiously convinced that reverence for sacraments implied dangerous superstition. The episcopacy which Baxter regarded as merely a scheme of organisation meant much more to the Churchmen, and the question of episcopal ordination was involved. The leader of the Church at this time was Sheldon, archbishop. After Juxon's death (1663–1677), a man whose experiences of puritan domination inclined him to agree with the Cavalier Parliament in restricting the opportunities of Puritans to influence local government. Certainly the general voice of the nation was for the restoration of the Church with ample safeguard against all foes or rivals, whether Puritans or Romanists. Hyde (now

Earl of Clarendon) declared that he would have been glad if the Act of Uniformity had been less rigorous, but when it was passed he thought it "necessary to see obedience paid to it without any connivance."

It was seen that within the Church the principles of Hooker and Laud, Andrewes and Cosin, had survived persecution with undiminished strength and with added credit. The death of the king, the publication of *Eikon Basilike*, and the sufferings of so many clergy, made the Church venerated and beloved. A service in commemoration of Charles' death and one of thanksgiving for the royal restoration were drawn up and gladly received. The revision of the Prayer-book, which was now made by Bishop Cosin and other eminent and lofty-souled clergy, leaned towards strengthening the expression of Church doctrine. The Presbyterians and Independents had at last to recognise that it was useless to try to introduce changes which affected principles into the Church system or the Prayer-book, and the Puritan leaders now altered their claims to one which the Independents had steadily advocated since the first years of the Long Parliament, a claim for liberty of conscience and worship for all minorities. But this implied a severance between religious observance and public and political life, which was a new principle, and was as completely opposed to the practice and principle of the Commonwealth as to that of the whole Church and nation in the past. Cromwell had penalised the religion of the majority of the nation for the sake of the safety of his temporary political system. Now that the majority had re-asserted their freedom, it was impossible that they should immediately be convinced that the minority which had tyrannised over them might safely have religious freedom without endangering once more the political and religious liberty of the majority.

Accordingly, the Cavalier Parliament of 1661 was vehemently anti-puritan, and carried its principles into legislation with a remorselessness which went beyond the wish of the bishops, or Clarendon, or the House of Lords, and far beyond that of the king.

The *Act of Uniformity*, 1662, not only made the use of the Prayer-book in church compulsory, but forbade any other form of service, and required all ministers who would not accept episcopal ordination, or who would not take the oath of canonical obedience to their bishop, to be deprived of the livings they held. This removed the whole case out of the hands of the bishops into the law-courts and left no room for persuasion. Nearly 2000 ministers refused to obey the rules laid down by the Act, and went away from their parsonages to face poverty, and perhaps danger if they continued to minister to such as approved their doctrines.

It was shortly evident that there was, as with the churchmen earlier, a minority among the flocks of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist clergy whose consciences and courage did keep them firm to the tenets and practices authorised under the Commonwealth, and the greater number of the dispossessed, or rather seceding,

clergy, did not return to secular life, but became ministers to small congregations in private. The Cromwellian army had been at least so far successful as to have established its prime religious principle, that of the Independent congregation, among the national ideas.

Throughout the reign of Charles II, Sheldon and the other bishops worked hard to restore the ruined Church. In many places the actual buildings, as at the beginning of the seventeenth century, stood roofless and desolate. Only two of the cathedrals had escaped, York and Salisbury, the one saved by Fairfax, the other by the local gentry. But the twenty years of silenced teaching had wrought a more dangerous havoc in religious custom and thought, and the long time of secular control over religion and the pastors had strengthened the habit in country places, that is, in the larger part of England, of considering the squire as the natural superior of the parson, and of confining religious worship to Sunday alone. The poverty inflicted upon the Church by the Tudors and the Tudor aristocracy was intensified during the Civil War, and the restoration of property begun by James I and Charles I ceased. The bishops again found it difficult to provide sufficient clergy on the starvation subsistence which was offered to them. Yet never, perhaps, had there been a greater need for courageous men of independent spirit. The low level of morals, the new French fashions with their bent to licentiousness, the scandalous example of the court, all justified Sheldon's insistence rather upon practical Christian life than upon doctrinal teaching. "It matters little what religion bad men be of," was one of his sayings. The horrors of the Plague proved the metal of the clergy, and some of the newly instituted vicars fled from London with the nobility. Their places were filled by self-devoted dissenters, lately ejected, and it was with crying ingratitude that parliament inflicted the Five Mile Act upon them afterwards, an Act which some of the bishops opposed. Next came the Great Fire of London, and after that calamity the appeals of the bishop and clergy to restore the cathedral and the churches met with a general response from all the country. Archbishop Sheldon, and Sancroft, bishop of London (afterwards archbishop), had the courage to select from the designs offered for the new St. Paul's that of Wren, a deliberate rejection of the medieval pattern, hallowed by long association but in itself less well adapted than Wren's model to the worship of those days, in which the sermon was the dominant feature. Wren's cathedral and the noble churches of new London which rapidly arose around it, showed that the Church of England could inspire fresh forms of art to be the handmaid of her devotion. Viewed from beyond Thames, from the northern heights, or some lofty house, the graceful spires of Wren's new style of architecture, grouped round the mighty dome, formed a picture as beautiful as the clustering spires and towers familiar to the Middle Ages and the Tudors, now destroyed for ever, like so much of the old English law and life.

XXXVII

THE RESTORATION. CHARLES II (1660-1685)

(A) NEW WAYS (1660-1667)

FOR twelve years or more the heir to the crown, together with a staunch party of his father's adherents and their heirs, had lived in exile, first in Holland, then in France, on the bounty of foreign governments, eked out by such scanty rents as could be smuggled overseas by loyal friends and tenants. After their return their foreign training showed some effects.

Charles II and his royalists did not and could not store up new wisdom in their years of exile, as Henry VII and his loyal followers had done. France in the seventeenth century could teach Englishmen little politically, for England then was the more civilised country. The long civil wars and massacres of the sixteenth century had interrupted fatally the progress of France. The pacification and fresh advances made in that country by Henry IV, and by Richelieu after him, had ended on the death of the latter in 1642, and during the childhood of Louis XIV, who succeeded Louis XIII in 1643, the feuds of the aristocracy had dissolved the government in the frivolous wars of the *Fronde* (1648-1653), until the ministry of Mazarin at last steadied the kingdom.

The selfish intrigues of French politics, and the immorality and extravagance of French fashionable life between 1642 and 1660, formed the worst of schools for the young king and his future courtiers. What there was of gravity or lofty feeling in France made its appeal to them through the Roman Church, whose able and loyal agents were vigorously seconded by Queen Henrietta Maria. When, therefore, the events of 1659-1660 brought back Charles II, he and most of the younger men expected to live by a political and moral standard much lower than that of their fathers, and some, including Charles and James themselves, were already half converted to the foreign Church which in the eyes of most of the English people was the national enemy. The returning leaders of society and government, therefore, were out of touch with the English people. This was soon seen in their preference for town life. Accustomed to Paris and to its easy and lax excitements, the refugees came home having missed the usual apprenticeship of young English noblemen in country business and pleasures. They knew nothing of the duties of sheriffs and lords lieutenant, of the

bench of magistrates, the trained bands, or the varied business of the parish. The duties and the sports of their fathers were alike uninteresting to them. They began to make London as much like Paris as possible, and it became more than before the centre of fashion and the place in which riches were spent. London had, of course, long been of supreme political importance. The financial power of the City and the passions of the mobs must both be conciliated by ministers, as the Long Parliament and Civil War had shown.

Under Charles II London becomes the very heart of England. Charles I had still been king, at Oxford or at Shrewsbury; James II was to find that expulsion from London left no place of refuge. New leaders in Learning, Science, or Commerce now had to secure recognition in London if they were to succeed.

The Tudors had preferred to live in country palaces beyond the suburbs of London. Charles II gave Greenwich to Monck, deserted Windsor, and lived at St. James's; his sole rural amusement was feeding the ducks in the pond.

The nobles who surrounded Charles II built their fine houses in French or Italian style, as near to St. James's as possible, and looked down on 'countrified' persons; but they also looked down on 'the cits.' They now attached an un-English and foreign value to noble birth and titles, and exhibited a disdain of intermingling with the moneyed men of the City. This social chasm between nobility and trade, as well as the opposition set up between town and country, were new fashions, both imported from Paris. Henceforward the old free intercourse of country gentlemen with courtiers and politicians gradually became restricted. Neither the extravagance nor the coarseness of the new king and his court attracted them, and they were satisfied—cultivated and honourable as most of them were, and impoverished as many had become—to remain aloof from London, autocrats in their own parishes, but slowly losing touch with the changes of politics. The court and the world of fashion, in the meanwhile, casting off all restraint of public opinion and caring nothing for English custom, went to the opposite extreme of frivolity, vice and wastefulness.

Of the royalists who had sacrificed everything, Ormonde and the lawyer Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, may be taken as typical of one section. They were now elderly men, made grave by grief and a long patience, deeply attached to the Church, anxious to protect the future from such a revolution as they had themselves endured. A very different section is typified by the younger men, Wilmot, earl of Rochester, and George Villiers, duke of Buckingham. Both had shared Charles II's worst fortunes and he never forgot it. The latter was son of the first duke, and even more handsome, graceful and charming in manner than his father, besides being extremely clever and witty. He had been brought up with Charles II, owing to the deep affection

of Charles I for the first duke, and though in later life he often treated his royal foster-brother very ill, betraying his secrets and working against him in politics, Charles II could never remain angry with him for long. During the Commonwealth Buckingham had long been a chief in the royalist plots, then he had tried to procure a pardon from Cromwell and married the daughter of Fairfax, who thought very highly of his son-in-law. After the Restoration he became known as the richest peer in England and a leader in every kind of extravagance and vice. His serious energies were spent in helping to ruin Charles' best ministers, from Clarendon to Arlington, from jealousy. Dryden satirised him as *Zimri* in *Absalom and Achitophel*, and he revenged himself in the amusing farce, *The Rehearsal*. Under James II he retired to his private amusements, and his sudden death gave the poet Pope the subject of one of his striking epigrams.¹ Rochester was not unlike Buckingham, though less of a politician and more of a 'wit'—a word which in this reign obtained its modern meaning. He wrote the celebrated epigram on the door of the bedroom of Charles II :

“ Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing
And never did a wise one.”

Two pieces of **social legislation** proved to be epoch-making.

Whether the gentry and nobility belonged to the new court circle or to the more old-fashioned county society, they had become alienated in sympathy from the bulk of the humbler population. Immediately after the Restoration a law to punish the poaching of deer restored the rights of private owners to their fenced-in parks and enabled them to re-stock them. In 1670 an Act for *Game Preservation* followed, giving gentlemen the right to preserve also hares and rabbits, pheasants, partridges and other birds, and to have *Gamekeepers* who might lawfully protect their game by force. This made poaching an offence against the common law of the land, whereas hitherto it had only been an offence against the ancient privileges of owners of manors and rangers of chases, which they held by royal licence and might enforce, if they could, according to a variety of customs and rules. Furthermore, this law of 1670 bestowed on the gamekeepers, not only a general permission to protect the parks almost as they chose, but the right to search houses for guns, snares, hare-pipes, ferrets or setters, and to confiscate and destroy them, provided the gamekeeper first obtained a magistrate's warrant. Their masters were the magistrates, and the decision of the magistrates in Quarter Sessions was made final, no appeal being permitted.

In 1662 an effort to improve the Elizabethan Poor Law inflicted,

¹ “ In the worst inn's worst room,” etc., *Moral Essays*, III. 300 ff.

unintentionally, a further injustice. Parishes which possessed large commons or woods, or in which local energy had set up good houses of work (usually for spinning wool) wherein to employ the poor at wages paid by the rates or by bequest of the charitable, found themselves inundated by tramps from other districts, who claimed the accommodation, fuel, pasture, wages and housing provided by the parishioners for their own poor. The result was to ruin the energetic and public-spirited villages and discourage benevolence, and request was made to parliament for protection. The Commons, therefore, enacted what was ever after known as the *Law of Settlement*: If outsiders came into a parish to receive its poor relief, or even if they were suspected of being likely to need it in the future, the parishioners (by their overseers or churchwardens) could get an order from a J.P. to remove them back again to their last 'place of settlement.'

The plan seemed only fair to the village or town which administered its poor relief properly: yet it sometimes resulted in dreadful cruelty, and universally meant that the poor were obliged to remain where they were born, or that they risked dire hardships if they had the courage to run away.

More land had lately come into the possession of the gentry by encroachments on Crown land and waste land or by confiscations ratified after 1660, and on the final abolition of royal feudal rights the landowners held it absolutely. Their greed was not yet satisfied, and in 1676 the parliament enacted a grave subversion of justice. No 'customary' rights were henceforth to be held legal unless they had been set down formally in writing. Many holdings, held by ancient custom now became the overlord's absolute property, to be let as he chose, much common land was assumed to be his property, and old public rights ceased. From this time enclosing and annexing of open fields or of ancient public common land again becomes active, though not in its fullest activity until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Thus the gentry made themselves in a new way masters of the soil, *landlords* in the modern sense. The rights of the Crown and of the population vanished together. This set the seal on the social revolution which during this 17th century placed the principal source of the wealth of the country, the land, in the hands of the landlords, and the richer they became, the poorer grew the peasantry. Eminent among them were several families conspicuous in the Civil War and Commonwealth, such as Holles, Montagu, Lenthall, Fiennes and Rich. For many prudent parliamentarians had secured their fortunes, made during the troubles, together with new peerages, by bargaining with Charles II.

The gap between classes, and the degradation of moral standards were, unhappily, no temporary phase and were a heavy price to pay for the temporary demonstration of republican principles and methods of government. The cleavage between the Church and

the Protestant sects exhibits in religious life a similar tendency to separation and aloofness on the part of one group or class towards another.

(B) GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS (1660-1667)

The nation to which the exiled monarch returned in 1660 had also acquired certain convictions from the last twenty years. It had at last learned that government must be paid for, and it had discovered that idealists can tyrannise and that a military force enables them to do so. The nation now felt certain that only under the long-accustomed monarchical system could it secure peace and commercial expansion, that an army meant despotism, that the coasts must be kept clear of pirates, that freedom was bound up with the Church and the monarchy, and that these two were inseparable. Therefore, while a permanent navy was henceforth maintained by a sufficient taxation, parliament steadily refused to provide an army except in emergencies. The grudging and unjust treatment habitually meted out by the English to their soldiers is usually, and probably correctly, traced to the memory of Cromwell's military rule.

Charles II, however, contrived to keep a very small army. It was obviously necessary for his personal safety to have better guards than the old-fashioned *Gentlemen Pensioners* of Elizabeth, and Monck's *red coats* furnished the Guards. There were also the garrisons of Dunkirk and Tangiers (the queen-consort's dowry), and when those fortresses were relinquished the garrisons came home but were not disbanded.

Although the "late usurpation" of Oliver Cromwell was reprobated in forcible language and all the Acts of the revolutionary period declared to be null and void, parliament tacitly endorsed the sweeping abolition made of former legal and constitutional machinery. The great special courts were not restored, feudal dues and restrictions on the nobles and gentry, and old regulations and laws which had hampered industry (such as those forbidding anyone to work at more than one process), were not reimposed.

With similar wisdom some important financial reforms of the Commonwealth were adopted: the *excise*, or tax levied at the place of manufacture or storage on intoxicating and pleasant liquors, was continued and became a large source of revenue. The liquors taxed at the Restoration, were (1) ale and beer, spirits, wine, cider, (2) coffee, tea and chocolate. The excise on these last was levied on the gallons brewed, but it soon was found better to change the excise into a customs duty on the dry materials when imported.

The once burning question of taxation was promptly settled, a life revenue was voted to the king (1660), including tonnage and poundage, and a land tax and the excise were also voted and settled upon the Crown for ever, to compensate for the royal abandonment

of old feudal tenures and dues and the exactions of purveyance. By this measure the greater part of the land of England became freehold and was able to be bought and sold more simply. The financial endowment of the monarchy was now more ample than *The Great Contract* which had been refused to James I, and far more lavish than the taxation over which the parliaments of Charles I had resorted to rebellion.

The Declaration, which Charles II had sent from Breda to the Convention parliament, had promised pardon and indemnity to all persons who were not by parliament itself exempted, and the first task of the Convention parliament was to consider whether exceptions should be made. To the surprise and dismay of the king and his advisers, the House of Commons drew up its *Bill of Indemnity and Oblivion* with such a sweeping list of exceptions that Charles remarked that it should be called a Bill of Pains and Penalties, and exerted his own influence to moderate the vindictive temper of the House. In the end only the regicides and five others were exempted from pardon, and of these only ten were executed. An unworthy insult was inflicted by hanging up the coffins and skeletons of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton and Blake at Tyburn; but their families were not molested, and Richard Cromwell lived out a long life as a wealthy connoisseur in art. General Lambert was sentenced to imprisonment for life, which resolved itself into his being sent to live comfortably in the pleasant Isle of Guernsey for the rest of his days. Milton, as Secretary to Cromwell's Council, had to go into hiding for a time. Sir Henry Vane, an idealist who had maintained republican principles and opposed all authority, from Strafford to Cromwell, was, with great injustice, selected as a sacrifice whom few would grieve over: "to have some one die for the country, as well as the king," said a cynic. Seldom has a political revolution been conducted with such remarkable clemency.

It was during the trial of the regicides that Chief Justice Sir Orlando Bridgeman laid down certain principles which henceforth became the cardinal principles of English government and went far to solve the problem of royal rule with public control. The English monarchy, he stated, is not absolute, for it governs according to the laws; yet is it bound by no conditions and is derived immediately from God, so that no one can have any coercive power over the king. At the same time, the laws can be enforced against any persons who do wrong, nor may they plead the king's command as their excuse. That is to say:—"the king can do no wrong," for the king cannot personally act: his Ministers may do wrong, and can be punished for it. Ministerial responsibility and subjection to the laws, enforced by parliament and by the courts of justice, was the solution of the conflicting claims of prerogative and parliament to the possession of supreme authority.

With regard to the temporary but difficult question of the restoration of property, it was agreed that the lands of the Crown and

the Church, and any property officially confiscated by a vote of the rebel government, should be restored, and the ease with which this was accomplished shows how strong was the public feeling. But royalists who had had to sell their lands, or who had 'compounded' with the Commonwealth government—and these formed the majority—got nothing restored or compensated. This was generous to the purchasers, who of course were seldom royalists, and it made settlement easy and businesslike, but it was at the expense of great numbers of royalists who had sacrificed their fortunes for their king. The Cavaliers bitterly called the Act an Act of "indemnity to the king's enemies and oblivion to his friends." They blamed Hyde, who had exerted himself greatly to get the Act agreed upon, and this was the beginning of the unpopularity which finally ruined him.

The *Cavalier* parliament, or *Long Parliament of the Restoration* (1661–1678) sat for longer than any other in our history, by means of long prorogations. It assembled fired by passionate loyalty and anxious to restore the past and punish its enemies. "More royalist than the king and more episcopalian than the bishops," it was not satisfied with safeguarding the re-establishment of State and Church, but passed on to persecution of its old enemies, which only endowed them, in their turn, with the aureole of martyrdom.

The first punitive Act, the *Corporation Act* (1661), directed that all holders of municipal offices must renounce the *Covenant* and must take the Sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England. This was to make sure that neither Puritans nor Roman-catholics should exercise an influence in corporate towns, the magistrates' bench and parliament. The laws were to be administered in the spirit intended by parliament. The *Act of Uniformity* (1662) directed that all holders of livings must have received ordination from a bishop, must consent to the Book of Common Prayer, take an oath of obedience to the bishop of the diocese, renounce the *Covenant*, and make formal declaration that they held it unlawful to bear arms against the sovereign upon any pretext. This confined all benefices to genuine members of the Church. Neither of these Acts can fairly be called unreasonable, seeing how lately an organised minority had forced its own rule upon the majority. Both Acts were much against the king's private wishes. But there followed two frankly vindictive measures:—The *Conventicle Act* (1664) forbade any religious assemblies besides those of the Church. The *Five Mile Act* (1665) forbade the nonconforming ministers to live within five miles of a corporate town or to teach in schools. These two Acts copied the procedure of Cromwell and formed a basis of persecution. They sprang from the natural dread which the Cavaliers felt of their now disarmed enemies, and they reflected the resentment which the mass of the people had come to entertain towards that party which, while it was dominant during the last twenty years, had deprived them of their amuse-

ments, cut down their wages, and not shared with them the benefits which the social changes had bestowed upon the middle class in the form of property and liberty of trading. The simple and the careless among the mass of the population were now for many generations certain to adhere to the Church, by conviction and habit, and the popular persecution which often befell Quakers or other sectarian missionaries was a measure of the conviction held by the ignorant that Puritans were enemies of the people. Incidentally, the Five Mile Act produced a concentration of sectarian influence in the new manufacturing towns which (*e. g.* Birmingham, Manchester) were not corporate towns and sent no members to parliament.

The tax rolls show which were, shortly after the Restoration, the most prosperous counties of England, and the list would hold good in the main till about 1760. The figures given here are the round numbers.

(1) The London district was by far the wealthiest: London, Westminster and Middlesex together paid over £6400; besides Southwark with Surrey, £1750.

(2) Next come the eastern counties, manufacturing and maritime:—Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, each from £3800 to £3500.

(3) Other manufacturing counties, each with a great seaport:—Devon, with Exeter and Plymouth; Yorkshire with Hull, each £3100; Somerset with Bristol, nearly £2900; Lincolnshire with Boston, £2700.

(4) Then a drop to the agricultural counties:—Hampshire, with Southampton, only £2000, and Wiltshire (no port but many small industrial towns) nearly as much; Gloucestershire over £1780; Sussex (seaports) and Cornwall (mines) over £1600.

(5) Poorer counties:—Cambridge with Ely, £1470; Northamptonshire and Herts, each £1400; Salop and Dorset, each over £1320; Buckinghamshire £1280; Warwickshire, Worcestershire, each £1240; Oxon, Hereford, over £1100; Berkshire, Leicestershire, nearly £1100.

(6) The very poor counties:—Lancashire (which, however, was certainly under-taxed), Derby, Staffs, and Notts, each paid only just over £930; Cheshire, £770; Durham and Cumberland, under £200. Westmorland and the Welsh shires were also very poor.

(C) MINISTRIES (1660–1685)

Politically, the reign of Charles II is interesting as a period of experiment in (*a*) the principle of ministerial responsibility; (*b*) the plan of conducting government by a group or committee of ministers, the forerunner of the modern *Cabinet*.

(1) Clarendon (Sir Edward Hyde), principal minister 1660–1667, went so far towards the modern conception of a minister as to try to conduct a policy, especially a foreign policy, of his own, and to persuade the king to endorse it. But he was out of sympathy

with parliament, and as he did not retire when he found himself unable to carry on his policy, he was forced out of office by the violent old method of an impeachment for high treason, and fled abroad.

(2) The ministry of a group of men, which followed, the *Cabal* of 1667-73, endeavoured to carry out the king's policy of friendship with France and toleration to Roman-catholics, but it disregarded parliamentary feeling even more than Clarendon had done, and was disposed of by the *Test Act*, passed by parliament in spite of king and ministers.

(3) Next, Sir Thomas Osborne, better known as Earl of Danby (1673-78), again tried to carry out the royal foreign policy without regard to parliament, and again impeachment ended the minister's career, though he was much less severely dealt with than Clarendon.

(4) The government of Halifax, Sunderland, Temple and others (1679-1685) was not a ministry in the modern sense, for it had no uniting principle and no chief. Each man held his office under the king and carried out his orders, and this enabled Charles II to rule without parliament and to prepare the way for the royal plot with the king of France to establish Romanism, a plot which, under James II, totally failed and resulted in exiling for ever the Stewart dynasty from the three kingdoms.

(D) FOREIGN POLICY OF CHARLES II AND ITS EFFECTS

The two great questions of Charles' time (finance having been disposed of) were those of foreign policy and of toleration at home, and the two were closely connected. As to both the policy of the king and the parliament were opposed.

Charles and James owed something to the French government, and were not unwilling to repay it in politics. They had been educated under their mother's influence, and personally they were always exercised by that crude medieval problem, how to reconcile the enjoyment of dissolute pleasures in this life with the eventual safety of their souls in the next. Archbishop Sheldon was uncompromising, and rebuked Charles earnestly for his personal wickedness and the scandalous conduct of his court. The Roman clergy indicated easier terms and were powerfully backed by Louis XIV, whose arguments included beautiful lady diplomatists, as missionaries, and large gifts of money. The one condition made by Louis was that Charles must relieve the English Romanists from the penal legislation of past parliaments.

But the foreign policy of England was no longer a question for the sole judgment of the sovereign. From Elizabeth's time national feeling entered into it; from the time of James I commercial interests also entered into it.

The masterful will of Cromwell had compelled England to make

peace with Holland, enter into alliance with France and go to war with Spain. But all these steps were contrary to the instinct of the people, which, since the death of James I, had come once more to regard France as the national enemy and as the protagonist of Roman-catholicism, with much justice, as events were to prove, while with Holland commercial rivalry was still intense. The Convention and the Cavalier parliament had both repeated the Navigation Act. Holland and England were jealous of each other over the trade of North America, West Africa, and the East Indies, where Charles II had just become possessed of Bombay (his queen's dowry) which he sold to the East India Company. Charles could not enter into the views of parliament, because in foreign policy he was in league, unknown to the House of Commons, with the king of France.

For more than half a century (1661-1715) Europe was dominated or convulsed by the designs of Louis XIV. When he began to govern personally (1661) he was possessed by a conscientious desire to exterminate heretics and a conviction of his own divinely appointed supreme position as arbiter of the great destinies of France. He prepared to end the long rivalry between Spain and France by securing to France a sweeping conquest. As soon as Philip IV of Spain should die, an event which could not be far off, Louis meant to claim and seize the Spanish Netherlands as the inheritance of his own wife, Philip's daughter, on the ground that a local law of Brabant secured to the children of a man's first marriage a certain portion of his inheritance, the Infant Charles, future king of Spain, being the child of Philip's second wife. The design was, of course, kept profoundly secret, but in 1663 Louis purchased Dunkirk from Charles II, and when England went to war with the Dutch Republic in 1665, Louis XIV rejoiced to see the two Protestant fleets destroying each other. He fulfilled his treaty obligations to the Dutch government of the De Witts by sending a French fleet to co-operate against England. As Sweden and Denmark remained neutral, with great benevolence towards the Dutch, England was heavily overmatched.

The commercial jealousy which lay at the root of this Anglo-Dutch war was embittered by a political feud among the Dutch which had an international importance. The House of Orange, to whose heroism the small republic mainly owed its triumphant freedom, was closely connected with the English royal family, William II being son-in-law to Charles I. But the Dutch opposition, composed of the wealthy aristocratic merchants, led by the De Witts, had driven this family from power on William's death in 1650, and were devoting themselves to commerce so entirely that a peace policy on land was necessary to them. Louis XIV supported this party, judging that they would not interfere with his annexation of the Spanish Netherlands, and the De Witts assured the Dutch people that they were in no danger from the peace-loving king of

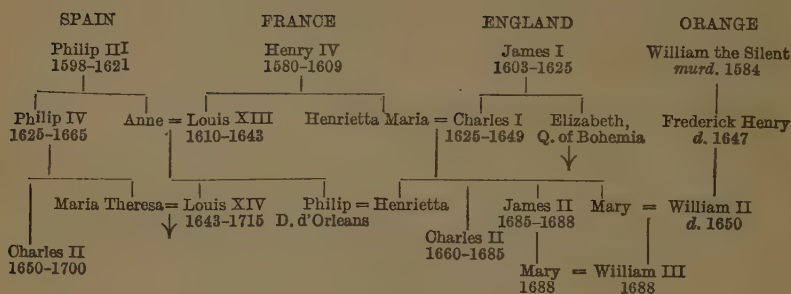
France. Time was to show that Louis' design of conquest included more than the Spanish Netherlands or even the adjacent districts of Franche Comté and Luxemburg; the Dutch provinces themselves were ultimately to be annexed. The real aims of Louis were suspected by William III, the young son of William II, who believed that France under Louis XIV was taking the place which Spain had earlier held as the militant Roman-catholic power, the foe of Protestantism and liberty.

The feebleness of Spain had long been evident to the English people, who had also from 1628 been suspicious of the designs of France, so that, in spite of Cromwell's alliance with France and war with Spain, national prejudice had shifted back to the attitude of pre-Elizabethan times. In 1661 Pepys actually jotted in his diary, "We do naturally all love the Spanish and hate the French," a statement which would have amazed an Elizabethan, and the lack of enthusiasm with which the people regarded Charles' marriage with a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, was mainly due to a shrewd suspicion that the king of France had recommended it as a check to Spain, Portugal having re-asserted her independence of Spain in 1640.

The first Dutch war (1665-1667) was marked by several severe naval actions, two of which the English admirals, the veterans Prince Rupert and Monck (duke of Albemarle), could claim as victories, besides a naval victory in the West Indies, the seizure of the Dutch colony close to New England (the New Netherlands), and a successful raid on the mouth of the Zuyder Zee, where a great number of merchant ships were burnt. But in 1667 the Dutch more than redressed the balance. The disastrous fire of London had paralysed the finance and the energies of the English government, and as a piece of economy our fleet was withdrawn into harbour. Thereupon the Dutch sailed up the Thames estuary and right into the Medway, burned Sheerness, bombarded Chatham, destroyed several men-of-war, and drove panic into the government and the citizens of London. People fled from the capital, trade was at a standstill, money vanished, taxes could nowhere be collected, no wages were paid and no coal reached London. This bold stroke ended the war, for the Dutch were ready to offer generous terms. Peace was quickly signed, the Dutch ceding their North American colonies (re-named New York and New Jersey after the duke and the earl to whom Charles II presented them), while the English modified the Navigation Act so as to allow the Dutch to import German goods to England.

Clarendon, as minister, had to bear the public blame for the unsuccessful war. His dislike to entering upon it was known and his enemies accused him of wilfully starving the fleet. Doubtless the plague and the fire of London helped to infuriate the people. A mob broke into Clarendon's garden, cut down his trees, broke his windows and set a gibbet before his door; more alarming

was the conduct of the Commons, who impeached him of treason. Charles II, long weary of his old-fashioned minister, and the more resentful because he, too, was averse to the Dutch war, was glad to be rid of him, and Clarendon, with no heart to face both parliament and the king, fled abroad. He was sentenced to lifelong exile, and there remained till his death, occupied in compiling memoirs of the stirring events among which he had moved, his *History of the Great Rebellion*.



XXXVIII

PREROGATIVE AND PARLIAMENT (III)

CHARLES II AND LOUIS XIV

AFTER the fall of Clarendon, Charles II embarked upon what can only be described as a royal conspiracy to establish despotism and pave the way for restoring papal authority. James, who afterwards continued the same scheme, was in his brother's confidence, but the principal assistant of Charles was the king of France, and it was the suspicion of this which caused the rulers of other European States to watch the English political struggle, during twenty years (1668-1688), with deep concern. Upon the victory of king or parliament in England might hang the destiny of Protestantism and Liberty in Western Europe.

Louis XIV is one of the most important international figures of Europe. His long life, peculiar character and absolute power in France made him the creator of a new political system. His character held "stuff enough for three kings and one honest man," said one of his tutors. He was slow but resolute: "He began late but will go further than most," said Mazarin. He only took the reins of power into his own hands in 1661, on Mazarin's death, and he then began to work out steadily a scheme of European empire which very nearly achieved success. Louis XIV intended to avenge on the Hapsburg Emperor and the king of Spain, both now in the decay of their power and resources, those wrongs which Spain and the Empire, under Hapsburg rule, had inflicted upon France in the sixteenth century. He would also stand forth as the champion of the papacy and destroy Protestantism, even against the counsel of the pacific and reasonable popes who now occupied St. Peter's chair. Above all, he would be an absolute monarch, ruling by military methods and crushing the popular governments recently established in two neighbouring countries. The English and Dutch should cease to give to other nations bad examples of disobedience to kings.

In 1661 Europe was for the most part at peace. Only Portugal, which had flung off the yoke of the king of Spain, had to recover her liberty with a struggle. Everywhere monarchy was in the ascendant, except in the Dutch Republic, and here the young Prince of Orange, William III, as yet but a boy, was only waiting for the opportunity which Louis was soon to give him.

Louis XIV left nothing to chance; his preparations were thorough.

It was his first aim to neutralise England in the coming struggle. If her navy could be kept out of the war, his own could cope with both Holland and Spain. If, further, Charles could be made despotic he would probably join Louis, and the English navy would then help to destroy the others. Fleets were peculiarly the weapons of small and free nations.

Charles II was already discovering that the obedience of the Cavalier parliament had limits. In the middle of the Dutch war (1665) the Commons began to attach conditions to their money grants, so as to ensure their *appropriation* to the purpose specified; in this case, war expenses only. Next year they named a committee, on Long Parliament precedent, to investigate the naval accounts, and on receiving a damaging report, in 1669, insisted that the navy treasurer, Carteret, should be dismissed. In 1677 the House went still further, and ordered that the taxes voted for the navy should be paid over to receivers appointed by themselves, so that the ministers and the court might not be able to divert the fund to other purposes.

Just before the restoration of Charles II a philosophic republican, Harrington, had observed: "Well, the king will come in: let him come in, and let him call a parliament of the greatest cavaliers in England, so they be men of estates, and let them sit for seven years, and they will all turn Commonwealth's men." It seemed, in 1667, as if the fulfilment of the prophecy was not far off. The vices and follies of the court showed plainly enough one root of extravagance and an opposition to the royal ministers was forming naturally. The court called these members the *Country Party*. They termed the king's new ministers the *Cabal*, because their initials formed that word, a slang word used to signify a secret party of trickery or intrigue.

Of the members of this *Cabal* ministry, Clifford and Arlington were Roman-catholics in secret, and as anxious as Charles to free their co-religionists from the penal laws. Buckingham, a brilliant, dissolute cynic, posed, like Elizabeth's earl of Leicester, as a champion of the nonconformists for political purposes. His friend Ashley (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury) was a more subtle politician, an excellent party organiser and leader. He had been by turns, Cavalier, Parliamentarian and Cromwellian, and was one of the foremost to invite Charles II to return. As Lord Chancellor he made an upright and sagacious judge, but as a statesman he lives branded in Dryden's satire as *Achitophel*. Lauderdale, a Scottish politician, was as dissolute as Buckingham, as skilful a turncoat as Ashley, and became notorious for a brutality unmatched in England even by Judge Jeffreys, who was at this time at the beginning of his career, attached to the corrupt city and court party.

The Cabal was not a Cabinet in the modern sense. It had no joint policy, but each man was ready to further the royal designs, and only Buckingham and Ashley thought parliament worth so much as conciliating.

The crucial questions were foreign policy and the treatment of religious dissenters, especially the Romanists. Parliament feared lest the recent alliance of France and Holland should continue, to the danger of English trade. But by 1668, when Louis was steadily annexing the Spanish Netherlands piecemeal, the Dutch were terrified to see his frontier advancing so close to their own and, unable to feel secure any longer, approached England with a view to alliance. Sir William Temple, the English diplomatist, arranged a defensive treaty, the *Triple Alliance* of 1668, between Holland, England and Sweden, which, it was hoped, would secure a general peace by guaranteeing to the new Spanish king, Charles II, the peaceful possession of all his territories, and so providing a *balance* of powers and claims to check Louis XIV. For the moment it was successful; Louis could not fight so large a league and agreed to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, keeping his conquests already won. But he then devoted himself to making a further provision for English neutrality and a better military preparation against the Dutch.

Charles' favourite sister, the charming and clever Henrietta, was duchess of Orleans, and sister-in-law of Louis. An ardent Romanist and wholly French by education, she undertook to win over her brother. They met at Dover, in 1670, and Charles agreed (1) to ally with Louis against Holland, in return for a large subsidy in money and the cession to England of Zeeland and the Dutch islands, which he supposed would satisfy the commercial interests of his subjects; (2) to declare himself a Roman-catholic. In return, Louis promised him a large annual income, to make him independent of parliament.

The second clause was carefully kept secret, but the Dover Treaty was, in any case, a shameless repudiation of the Triple Alliance of two years earlier, and the Emperor and the king of Spain were hardly more dismayed by what was made public than were the two great sections of English society which hitherto had been opposed to each other: the churchmen and the dissenters. "The great preparations of the French king do make now the protestant hearts to tremble," comments Baxter.

Charles acted too quickly to give a chance to the Opposition. As soon as parliament had voted a sufficient supply for the fleet it was prorogued for a very long period, nearly two years, and the king (a) declared alliance with France and war upon Holland early in 1672.

It was a fateful and disastrous year, for Charles had practically revealed his intentions to his horrified subjects. (b) He dared not announce his own conversion to Romanism, but James, duke of York, heir to the throne, did so, and the king issued a proclamation, called a *Declaration of Indulgence* in religion, in which he declared all penal religious laws to be suspended from operation.

This was a wholesale use of a prerogative which had never before

been seriously questioned—the power of setting aside, temporarily, in some crisis, of some particular legal restrictions. But to misuse this *suspending power* by sweeping away a whole series of recent Acts was to make parliamentary law a mockery.

(c) Almost at the same time the king's ministers announced that the Exchequer would not repay the loans due for repayment that year, but only interest. This produced a financial catastrophe in London, the second of the reign, for the Great Fire had temporarily stopped money transactions. It had long been the custom for men who wished to lay up money against the future to place their savings with the goldsmiths, or other business houses, and draw them back, with interest, at some date specified. The goldsmiths, therefore, were the *bankers* of the City, able to advance large sums of capital on interest for eventual repayment. Government habitually borrowed great sums from the goldsmiths in this way, repaying by instalments, much in the modern fashion of Treasury loans. The refusal to repay (*Stoppage of the Exchequer*), therefore, was a fraud perpetrated by government at the expense of the capitalists, whose ruin involved that of hundreds of humbler persons, who found that their savings for a daughter's portion, or a son's apprenticeship, had vanished. The blow stirred up great indignation, and, of course, a refusal to loan any more to the Crown. What the Exchequer gained was the sum of money from the taxes intended for repayment. When this had melted the king was without funds, and had to re-assemble parliament. He seems to have hoped that the nonconforming party would unite with the court party to support him in the Commons, out of gratitude for the Indulgence.

But the session of 1673 falsified all his calculations. Fear and indignation produced a violent wave of feeling against Romanism. The Dissenters were more angry than conciliated at being included in the Indulgence with their prime enemies, and many of their leaders held it unwise to express thanks for the immunity thus granted them "lest the parliament should fall upon them." They desired a constitutional recognition, not a gift from royal caprice and absolutism. It was this strong principle which made them henceforward the backbone of an Opposition to absolutism which, as quite distinct from the original *country party*, came to be known as the *Whig* opposition.

Nor was the war successful. When the Anglo-French fleet met the Dutch the French admiral held aloof and the English bore the brunt of the fight and were beaten. People said that the French were only there to see that the English fleet was earning the king's pension.

The effect was a crushing defeat for the king in parliament. He was compelled to withdraw the Indulgence before the Commons would vote supplies, and then a new law, the *Test Act* (1673), made the Church triumphant and the plight of the Romanists as bad as

before. Moreover, Charles was compelled to make peace with Holland and her ally, Spain (1674).

The **Test Act**, which for long afterwards was regarded as the safeguard of Protestantism and of the Church establishment in England, ordered that everyone holding office under the Crown, great or small, political or local, must prove his religious conviction by receiving the Sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England, and must also make a declaration against the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation.

This ended the Cabal, and Shaftesbury (Ashley), with his usual dexterity, changed sides and became the leader of the opposition in the Lords. Charles now had to betake himself to Churchmen to find a minister, and he induced Sir Thomas Osborne, a Yorkshire magnate, once the opponent of Clarendon, to become Lord Treasurer and accept a peerage. He is best known as earl of Danby (afterwards marquis of Caermarthen and duke of Leeds). Danby has the evil reputation of being the first great English minister who tried to build up a party by corruption. His plan of government was, first, to secure one strong party of real supporters in the Churchmen, sacrificing the dissenting party to this; then, to win over, by gifts and favours, politicians enough to form a majority, and finally to conciliate Protestant and patriotic feeling by a foreign policy in agreement with the sentiment lately revealed in parliament, that is, by relinquishing the French alliance and making one with Holland. Danby, like Clarendon, was attempting a ministerial control of foreign policy, but he had for an opponent not only Charles II but the resourceful Louis XIV.

Such a change in English policy might mean salvation to Holland, where the French conquest of the Spanish Netherlands had produced a panic. The two de Witts and their party, who for over twenty years had ruled Holland, had staked everything upon the peaceful intentions of the king of France, and the sudden discovery that Louis menaced their freedom and religion infuriated the population, which rose in a frenzied revolt, murdered the two de Witts and placed William III as General and Stadtholder at the head of the little State. Fortunately for them, the designs of Louis terrified also the Emperor and the king of Spain, who made alliance with the Dutch (1673), and this combination made Louis the more anxious to keep England out of the war at all events, if not actively on the side of France. He therefore advised Charles II to give way to parliament on the religious question, hoping that the control of foreign policy would then be left to him.

But from 1672 the champion of liberty against the king of France, in Holland and in Europe, was the young Prince of Orange, the fourth of his family to lead the heroic fight of his country for freedom; and there were English party leaders who already began to look upon him (since he was nephew of the king) as a possible ally or chief in the struggle which seemed to be threatening England

over religion. William knew that his patriotic and religious policy must involve him in a ceaseless and unequal struggle with the powerful king of France. Only twenty-two at the time of his accession to a limited rule over the United Provinces, he had already learned much in the school of adversity and danger. That Holland might secure her liberties from Louis, William was ready to make all Europe his field of combat, military or diplomatic, and he was as anxious as Louis XIV to snatch what advantage he could for his cause among the politicians of England.

Danby, not at first aware that the king did not give him his confidence, did his best to increase royal power and influence. He tried to procure a fresh test to impose upon all office-holders in the form of an oath that they held resistance to the king to be in all cases, for any reason, unlawful. Though the Lords passed the Bill the Commons rejected it, and Danby henceforth agreed with the king in keeping parliament in practical abeyance, by continual prorogations, for the better part of four years (1674-8). At the same time he had induced Charles to permit negotiations with his nephew William for his marriage with Princess Mary, who was as yet the next heir to the crown after her father, James, and although the design was for three years laid aside while Charles was drawing a pension from Louis, the steady pressure of the minister and of the popular leaders, in parliament and out of it, succeeded finally in bringing about the marriage in 1677. Both Charles and James felt that some concession to the national sentiment was necessary. Charles preferred to show Louis occasionally that he was not a merely abject tool; James, a stupid man who never foresaw results, replied to the remonstrances of the French ambassador, that it was his daughter who was to marry the prince, not himself; and that marriages did not always make policy. This marriage was, however, hailed by all anti-French interests as heralding England's adherence to the alliance which William had been knitting together, and parliament proved its own intentions by voting (in 1678) the huge sum of a million for war with France and requesting an increase of the army, against the existence of which it had lately been protesting.

Charles increased his army with alacrity, but then Louis, afraid that Danby and the parliament would really send it into the field against himself, intrigued with the leaders of the Opposition and paid bribes to some of them to induce them to attack Danby, while at the same time he secretly agreed to pay Charles a great sum of money to dissolve parliament and to withdraw all assistance to the Dutch. Both the King and the leaders of the Opposition took the bribes, and Charles, to keep this agreement or treaty as secret as possible, confided it only to Danby, who, as Charles' minister, found himself entangled personally in a plan to defeat his own policy.

The English people and political parties were all this while

involved in humiliating schemes and agitations. The king's real intentions were more than suspected by the Opposition, led by Shaftesbury and partly composed of Dissenters. The Church party was suspicious of the Court party—cynical, licentious and almost openly infidel. Both Churchmen and Dissenters feared the Romanists, whom they supposed to be always tools of the king of France, and this vague terror was shared by the mass of the common people, especially in London. Louis XIV, with consummate skill, added another ingredient to the general alarm by allowing his last secret treaty with Charles to become known to the leaders of the Opposition, as well as the fact that Danby had actually written out the draft of it. The result was a complete embroiling of king, minister and parliament. Danby was impeached and, to insult him the more, impeached along with five Roman-catholic peers who were charged, on false evidence, with treason. In January 1679 the Cavalier parliament was dissolved, but the new parliament sent Danby to the Tower.

By this time, a popular outburst of fanaticism had grown to such proportions as to sweep political parties into its vortex. The so-called **Popish Plot** (1678–81) was disgracing the annals of English justice. The fervour exhibited on all sides against popery had instigated a scoundrel, Titus Oates, to lay information of a plot against the king's life which he pretended to have discovered, and the accusations which he made against a number of Roman-catholics were sworn to by false witnesses. Oates had been an Anabaptist preacher in Cromwell's time and professed to be a convert to Romanism in France afterwards. He had returned to England to make money out of his experiences. Charles candidly observed in private that he thought he was accused of being in a plot against himself, but he shrank from risking his own popularity by discountenancing the informer or forbidding executions. He "did not mean to go upon his travels again," he used to say to his intimates, to excuse his timidity before popular opinion. And he shrewdly foresaw that the wild lengths to which the fanatics were going would in time produce a reaction which he could use for his own purposes. There was the real plot still to be concealed: the plot of the king with Louis XIV, seconded by the profound intrigues being woven by the Jesuits for the Romanising of England, intrigues which centred in the household of James and his second wife, the Italian Mary of Modena, whom he married in 1674.

The extent of these intrigues was probably never unravelled, but there were a few who had but too strong grounds for suspecting that the royal family was plotting the conspiracy which the crowd erroneously imputed to all and any Romanists in general. One danger lay in the wide latitude of misrepresentation permitted by the Jesuits to their disciples. A famous instance known to the English judges was that of the Jesuit Garnet, who had, after the Gunpowder Plot,

rebutted the evidence against him by swearing that he was not a priest, had never been over the sea nor had ever so much as seen the witness (really an old associate) who was testifying against him. When the case against him was, nevertheless, clearly proved, he was so indignant at the accusation levelled at him of swearing falsely, as to explain that, in his mind and conscience, he was telling the truth, for he was truly not a priest (of Apollo) and he had truly never crossed the sea (of India) or seen his old acquaintance (in the Beatific Vision). Such facts made statesmen and thoughtful persons doubtful whether they could accept any promise or oath of James or his intimates, but a wrong direction was given to the popular suspicion by the events of 1678.

Some old papers of the duchess of York's secretary were seized which afforded hints of treasonable schemes sufficient to bring several Jesuits in question. Just then an eminent London magistrate, Sir Edmund Godfrey, honoured for his courageous services during the plague and the fire, suddenly disappeared, and after a five days' search, his body was found, stabbed and strangled, at the foot of Primrose Hill. It was then believed, and is at present still considered likely, that he was murdered to prevent him from revealing the Jesuit conspiracy of which he had learned the proofs. An extravagant panic at once seized London, like that which had arisen on the Irish rebellion of 1641. Everybody expected to be murdered. The two Houses began calling individuals before them to be examined. Lords, bishops and judges excited the terror and vindictiveness of the mob. Roman-catholics must all be expelled from court, cried one peer, to "leave not so much as a popish dog or a popish cat to purr or mew about the king." Even the broad-minded Tillotson and Stillingfleet and the sensible Burnet, the wisest of the clergy, were possessed by the universal frenzy. It was vain for the innocent victims to defend themselves; some twenty-five priests and Jesuits were put to death, and as many more perished in their horrible prisons. The archbishop of Armagh and old Lord Stafford were condemned and executed in defiance of all the evidence, and only when Oates had the insolence to accuse the queen, did Charles summon up courage to refuse to countenance these atrocious proceedings longer. With the judicial murder of Stafford and Archbishop Plunket the mental epidemic subsided. It resembled the passion for witch-hunting which, during this century, many times made life hideous in Scottish or English counties, or in North America.

The *Popish Plot* finally raised in parliament a question upon which it was impossible for the king to give way. In 1678, Roman-catholics were 'disabled' from sitting in either House of Parliament, a measure which, by turning out the Romanist peers, prevented the recusants henceforth from having any spokesmen in the legislature. Next, the parliament of 1679 proposed to exclude the duke of York from succession to the throne. "This parliament must

destroy popery, or popery will destroy us," cried Lord Russell, son of the earl of Bedford, a man whose probity and idealist principles gave him unusual influence.

The strong feeling which supported the **Exclusion Bill** was not all as pure as Russell's. The political aspect of religious opinions and parties had been assuming more and more prominence as the complicated results of the Civil War had unfolded themselves. The expedient of making membership of the Church the first qualification for the ambitious, and even for ordinary officials, was a dire blow at the sanctity of religion. The most sacred service of the Church became degraded to the level of a legal technicality, and it was evident that, while many strict and conscientious men would be kept out of the public services, the rite offered no bar to the infidel, or the hypocrite, or the superficial. The political opposition led by Shaftesbury was in part swayed by Protestant feeling, but in part it was imbued with a definite intention of restraining royal authority and elevating parliamentary power, by making the succession to the throne a matter for parliament's decision. There would then be an end of the principle of *Divine right* and all that it entailed. Political thinkers of this school, Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney among them, made their views known in books and pamphlets. Philosophy, of a reasonable and almost a utilitarian stamp, was much in vogue among the cultivated, in France as well as in England. Locke, who had a great reputation in the next era, also belongs to this group. On the opposite side, the court party's best friends were the satirists, Dryden the greatest, who introduced a new literary and political weapon to the age, and helped, by his brilliant use of ridicule, to hasten that turn of the political tide on which Charles II was counting.

It was during the debates and agitations upon the *Exclusion Bill* that the two famous political parties formed themselves and accidentally acquired names which have lasted till now. Long after the *Exclusion Bill* was forgotten, the names **Whig** and **Tory** were destined to be applied to many successive parties of various principles. To prevent the Bill from passing the king dissolved his third parliament and kept the fourth continually prorogued (1679-80). Numbers of petitions were offered to him to beg that it might be assembled, while counter-addresses were made by loyal subjects and strong churchmen who said that they *abhorred* the *Exclusion Bill*. The *petitioners* and *abhorrrers* were recognised as opposite parties, and these nicknames were soon exchanged for "Whig" or "Tory," respectively Scottish and Irish terms of abuse and contempt. *Whigamores* were covenanting outlaws of the moors; *Tories*, bog-trotting bandits.

The most able and most popular leader of the Whigs was Shaftesbury, who conferred a boon upon the nation by carrying through Charles' third parliament the *Habeas Corpus Act* (1679), which at last provided sufficient safeguards to the individual against arbitrary

imprisonment, especially such as was practised by Cromwell. It took away from judge or gaoler the power to keep a man in prison untried : if he was not brought for trial, a man imprisoned for any crime except treason or felony could demand a *writ* (or order) of *Habeas Corpus*, which the judge was bound to grant, and upon receipt of which the gaoler was bound to produce the man in a court of law, when he must be tried or else let out on bail. A man accused of treason or felony, if not tried within a certain season, must be released. To ensure that a man should not be placed out of reach of his kin or his lawyers (as in the West Indies or the Channel Isles) it was also forbidden to imprison any Englishman outside England.

Shaftesbury was one of the principal movers of the Exclusion Bill. But he also had his secret plot underlying the public Whig agitation. It was his aim, not to pass the crown on to the next heir after James, the Princess Mary, who had so lately been married to the Prince of Orange, but to alter the line of succession by raising to the throne James, duke of Monmouth. Mary and William would not have placed power in Shaftesbury's hands : Monmouth, the king's favourite illegitimate son, was a handsome, pleasant young profligate, of little character and less courage, and Shaftesbury expected to be his all-powerful minister. Never before in English history had public honours and importance been bestowed upon royal bastards. But Charles and his court had copied continental custom in this respect and peerages and fortunes were now the seal of shame. Monmouth cultivated popularity among the mass of the populace, who called him "the Protestant duke," in contrast to James, the Romanist duke.

But the one principle of Charles I to which his son was staunch was that of the sacredness of the royal inheritance of the crown ; upon this Charles II would not yield. The fourth parliament was dissolved to prevent the passing of the Exclusion Bill. The fifth was summoned (1681) to meet at Oxford, where the London mob could not be used by the Whigs to raise a clamour and mishandle unpopular members. But the members brought their armed servants and old men were reminded of the Long Parliament. Willing to try everything to avoid a fight, Charles suggested that there might be a regency during James' life. But the regent would have been William, and Shaftesbury, from selfishness, made the Opposition refuse. Then the last of Charles' parliaments was dissolved, and the party self-seeking of the Whigs having wearied general feeling, popular support failed them. The Tory reaction expected by Charles was beginning.

The king now placed himself at the disposal of Louis XIV, and receiving from him, in return, a large pension, ruled at home almost absolutely and withdrew England from any share in continental politics. He attempted to punish Shaftesbury by a prosecution for treason, but the earl's popularity in London was still so great

that the Grand Jury declared there was no cause for trial. Shaftesbury, however, was terrified; without a parliament to agitate in he was helpless, and he fled to Holland and there soon after died.

After the fall of Danby Charles had ruled through a group of several ministers, among them, (1) Sir William Temple, the diplomatist; (2) the earl of Halifax (Savile), famous for integrity and broad-minded tolerance, so ready to see the other side that he could hardly be counted a party man, but was termed a *Trimmer*, or one who preferred to join the weaker side, so as to keep the balance *trimmed*, as in a boat.¹ As Churchman and patriot he was against the exclusion of James, holding it better to trust parliament to defeat any temporary danger, seeing that Mary's accession would in the end ensure the safety of Church and kingdom; (3) the earl of Sunderland (Spencer), a man of "a keen understanding, a restless and mischievous temper, a cold heart and an abject spirit," more skilful in persuading politicians than in reading the simpler passions of the people. Temple tried to procure a unanimous or joint policy among ministers by using the Privy Council. It was to be newly appointed by the king and consist of thirty members, among whom the ministers were included. But the number proved to be too large for practical work and a small number used to meet privately to prepare business. This is sometimes considered as the beginning of the Cabinet system. In practice, after 1681, the king was his own chief minister, and with great success proceeded on a plan directed towards securing to himself, and to James afterwards, the support of the Church and Tory party. He sent James to keep court at Edinburgh, sent Monmouth to live in Holland, left the unfortunate Roman-catholics still under the penal laws, but was able to rule in other respects as he would, and he continued to keep in training his standing regiments. Further, the conduct of the Middlesex Grand Jury in refusing to allow Shaftesbury to be tried gave an excuse for investigating the Charter of London, and its liberties were much curtailed, royal authority being used to procure Tory mayors and sheriffs, who were sure to see that minor officials were Tories too. The same plan was successfully tried in other cities and boroughs, with the result that the Crown could rely upon a Tory management of mobs, and a considerable number of Tory members, should a parliament again be required.

The intrigues of Shaftesbury had probably first set on foot a curious plot which was not heard of till after his death. In it four leading Whigs—Russell, Sidney, the earl of Essex and Lord Howard—were concerned, apparently expecting to produce some kind of Whig agitation among a class of less eminent persons, who were, in

¹ Modern cynicism assumes that a man only changes to the stronger side and calls this *trimming*. The old phrase for which was *ratting* (also nautical) (*i.e.*, deserting the sinking boat).

turn, to influence the masses against the Church and Tories. But among their agents were two old Cromwellians, an ex-presbyterian colonel and a tradesman, Rumbold, and they devised a scheme to murder the king and the duke of York. This part of the plot, called *The Ryehouse Plot* (1683), was discovered, and the Crown had a good excuse for punishing the Whigs. The Cromwellian colonel and Lord Howard both turned informers and betrayed their companions, and the Whig nobles were then accused of being concerned in the murder plot. Essex,¹ long an upright public servant, fell into deep dejection and committed suicide in prison, which convinced the jury of the guilt of the others, and Lord Russell, firmly protesting his innocence, was executed as well as Algernon Sidney. The latter was put to death contrary to the law, which required at least two witnesses in a charge of treason. A paper of notes in his own handwriting was declared to be a sufficient "second witness."

To this point of arbitrary power had Charles II attained when he died, early in 1685.

¹ He was son of the gallant Capel who defended Colchester in 1648.

XXXIX

SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

(i) SCOTLAND (1660-1685)

THOUGH the Restoration Settlement in England was achieved peaceably, it was otherwise in Scotland and Ireland.

Scotland was wildly enthusiastic over both the return of her king, who had already (1651) been crowned at Scone, and her own release from English domination. There were ardent thanksgivings, signalised in Edinburgh, first, by sermons in all the kirks, then by public drinking of healths, "the spouts of the Mercat Cross running with abundance of claret wine. . . . Three hundred dozen of glasses all broken and casten through the streets, with sweetmeats in abundance." Drums, bells, volleys of salutes, and fireworks spoke the universal joy; the musicians were drowned by the shouts of the populace: "Bacchus, also, being set upon a puncheon of wine upon the frontispiece of the Cross with his comrades was not idle. And in the end of this solemnity the effigies of that notable tyrant and traitor Oliver, being set up upon a pole, and the devil upon another, upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, it was ordered by firework, engine, and train [of gunpowder], the devil did chase that traitor, and pursued him still till he blew him in the air."

The first measure taken by the new government was one of revenge. The marquis of Argyll, the powerful Presbyterian leader, was tried for treason and executed, as he had caused Montrose to be executed; and his son, though he had always acted as a royalist, had some difficulty in obtaining a full pardon and restoration to his inheritance as earl of Argyll. Charles II, without troubling to visit a country of which he entertained only painful recollections, sent the severe earl of Middleton as High Commissioner of Parliament, and the earl of Lauderdale as Secretary of State. The Presbyterians had sent Sharpe as representative to London to treat with the king on behalf of the Scottish Kirk, but Charles was even more determined than his father and grandfather on establishing episcopacy in Scotland, and Sharpe, trimming his course to the royal purposes, returned home archbishop of St. Andrews and primate of Scotland. The Presbyterians regarded him as a second Judas. But Middleton had been able to induce parliament, as royalist as that of England, to repeal all the acts of the past twenty-eight years, as well as

to declare it high treason to rise against the king for any cause whatever, and unlawful to hold any assemblies without royal licence. Thus the recent establishment of Presbyterianism was automatically destroyed. Next, the Covenant was burned at Edinburgh Cross, and an Act of Uniformity passed, much like that of England. Finally, the erection of courts of High Commission enforced the Act and established episcopal rule, and when the ejected clergy held private religious meetings these were forbidden, as *Conventicles*, and those who attended them were fined, imprisoned and corporally punished. The earl of Lauderdale, himself a renegade Covenanter, was made a duke, and placed in supreme control. He raised troops among the Highland clansmen, marched them into the most presbyterian districts, and carried out his policy by force, but only with the result, as usual in Scotland, of provoking armed resistance. In both the eastern and western Lowlands armed bands of Covenanters, or *Cameronians*, appeared, who attended the preaching of their zealous pastors on the moors. The attempts to disarm them produced continual affrays, and cruel punishments were inflicted on prisoners. The Highland host was encouraged to plunder the homes of Presbyterians, even lairds and farmers. When the public indignation rose to a dangerous pitch Charles suddenly tried conciliation: he withdrew Sharpe from the administration and announced his *Indulgence* (1669) for ejected ministers who had not given any special offence to the government. They were then permitted to preach, and small stipends were assigned to them from the ecclesiastical revenues; but it was too late for such methods to succeed. For one minister to accept such indulgence while others were in prison for their convictions was felt to be dishonourable and the armed conventicles continued to assemble. Lauderdale dealt out fines, torture and death. Among his assistants were the ferocious Dalrymple, who in 1666 earned bitter curses by his cruelty in the Pentland Hills, and the brilliant soldier Graham of Claverhouse, famous for courtesy and loyalty on the one hand, and relentless harshness on the other, and under them persecution raged in the Lowlands from 1674 to 1679. The whole of the south-west of Scotland was treated as a revolted district. The gentry were ordered to be responsible for the obedience of their tenants to the law against conventicles, and when they remonstrated, the Highland host was quartered upon them.

Despair produced at length a fierce outbreak of rebellion. A band of desperate Covenanters near St. Andrews, unexpectedly meeting with Archbishop Sharpe, dragged him from his coach and beat him to death. Immediately after, an armed concourse at a conventicle near Drumclog faced Claverhouse's troopers and beat them off (1679). But the approach of royal troops under Monmouth, who had just made a grand marriage with the heiress of the dukedom of Buccleuch, caught the rebels arguing and preaching over their respective principles on Church discipline, and they were

totally routed at Bothwell Brig (1679). A great number were taken prisoners, of whom a few were put to death, as murderers of the archbishop, and a number more shipped to the West Indies as slaves; but the greater part, on promising to keep the peace henceforth, were sent home.

Such leniency was only a temporary measure. Monmouth was recalled to England, and James, duke of York (partly to keep him safely out of the way in England), was sent to Scotland in his stead. Lauderdale resigned, but Claverhouse and Dalryel carried out, with James' approval, extremely cruel measures which were naturally met by resistance as savage. A local civil war of ferocious character, in fact, went on in the west till 1685, known by the Lowlanders as "the killing times." James himself used his influence to whet the animosity of the extreme royalist party against the earl of Argyll, who had opposed the ferocious treatment of the Covenanters. Argyll was accused of a number of semi-treasonable crimes, and declared guilty on evidence which, said Halifax, would not hang a dog in England. But Charles then interfered to forbid his execution. The earl escaped in disguise, thanks to the courage of his step-daughter, and fled to England. There he was tracked, and the king was informed of his whereabouts, but again Charles protected him. "Pooh, pooh! Hunt a weary partridge?" he said. "Fye, for shame!"

Argyll, as a grasping and doubtfully honourable man, was little liked in general, but now that he was a persecuted Protestant driven from home by the papist duke, he began to attract sympathy. He retired to Holland before the death of Charles II, and on James' accession, knowing that he now stood no chance of restoration to his home and honours, he was ready to try even the most desperate chances to raise a revolt in Scotland which might redress his fortunes. The restless plotters of Shaftesbury's and Monmouth's party, therefore, found it easy to work upon him.

No more desperate measure could have been taken than that of the hasty insurrection against James headed by the impatient Monmouth, especially as Argyll was not on good terms with him, and the two did not trouble to arrange their plots in harmony. Argyll thought that he could raise the Lowland Covenanters as well as his own clansmen, their bitter foes, but his efforts only divided the energies of his few desperate supporters. He was rash enough to sail for Scotland before Monmouth could set out for England, but on reaching Scotland, he found the Campbells not so ready as in ancient days to rise at the call of *MacCallum Mohr*; his eldest son was at the court of James—just as Argyll himself had once been royalist while his father was republican. The young heir had no mind to lose his earldom and even offered to go to Scotland and lead the clan to fight his father. When Argyll left the Highlands to go south, most of his men deserted, and, at the first sign of battle, panic seized the scanty remnant.

The earl was then easily overpowered and taken a prisoner to Edinburgh, where he was condemned to death, on the previous sentence of 1681, and executed. The son, finding James not particularly grateful, thought it wise to make his way, in his turn, to the safe shelter of Holland.

But for the unfortunate clansmen and Lowland Cameronians who had followed his father's banner there was no escape, and the utmost cruelty was used in punishing them. James struck a medal to commemorate his victory which bore a severed head and trunk, and when he extended the *Indulgence* once more to Scotland (1687) he excluded Cameronians, who were still to be hunted down like wild beasts. The Presbyterians, who had previously tasted bitter persecution at James' hands, satirised his *Indulgence* of 1687 as "the courtesy of Joab to Abner." Probably nothing but this prolonged religious persecution could have overcome the national feeling for monarchy and the Stewarts; all James succeeded in was in uniting, for once, the Scots with the English against their lineal king.

(ii) THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT IN IRELAND

The settlement of Ireland, at the Restoration, was infinitely more difficult than that of Scotland or England, and it was undertaken by men very few of whom had patriotic, or even honest traditions.

The Cromwellian settlement had left Ireland in a state far worse than in Tudor and early Stewart times. Its condition was now as follows:—(a) There had been a wholesale transfer of the sole foundation of wealth, the land, to the republican party, which was entirely Protestant, and a penalising of the entire Romanist population (whether Irish or English), as well as all Protestants who were royalists. (b) But, as the new owners were not able to cultivate all their lands themselves, many of the Irish, who were supposed to be banished, did really remain as their servants or sub-tenants.

Each of these two sections of the population, republican or Irish, was composed of several classes, so that Charles II had to deal, altogether, with five:—

(i) The native Irish, who before Cromwell's coming had possessed about two-thirds of the good land and all the bad. Of them a third were dead or fled and the survivors held, legally, only part of the bad lands.

(ii) The Anglo-Irish of times before 1553, who were mostly Romanists (such as the Fitzgeralds and Plunkets), though not all—the Butlers being staunch to the Anglican Church, as they were to the Crown. They were classed by Cromwell's government with the natives, though of very different education and customs.

These two classes must have made up at least two-thirds of the population. Cromwell's government had termed them all alike "The Irishry."

(iii) The families of English settlers, from Mary I to Charles I, in Strafford's time (as the Boyle, Parsons and Loftus families), or their tenants, or the tenants of English speculators. They belonged to the English Church, and being royalists and Episcopalians, had, like the older clan of the Butlers, been proscribed by Cromwell, except a few who were quick enough to turn their coats. Boyle, Lord Broghill, was Cromwell's right-hand man.

(iv) The Scottish presbyterian settlers in Ulster, all parliamentary in 1642, but all royalist since 1649. They had steadily defended and tilled their lands throughout and Cromwell's government had not had time to interfere with them. They helped to carry through the Restoration.

(v) The latest Puritan, or Cromwellian, settlers, some of them ex-soldiers of the army, or officials, and some 'adventurers,' that is, financiers who had loaned money to the Commonwealth and Protectorate and accepted Irish land as payment (as Coote, Cromwell and Petty). They did not, by any means, all live on their new properties, but leased them to others, so as to draw money from them.

In 1660 Charles and his ministers received thousands of petitions from all those who had been dispossessed by Cromwell and who fancied that the king would deprive the last class of their spoils and restore the heirs of the royalist victims.

But the newly returned king and his cavaliers were much afraid of the republican soldiers and almost as much afraid of the puritan capitalists. Charles II did not "wish to go upon his travels again," and when he found how intensely the different classes of the Irish population hated and feared each other, he was content to let his ministers play them off against each other and try to produce some profit to themselves or the king.

The Protestants, both royalist and republican, were ready to furnish some payment to the king if he would confirm their estates, and they assured him that there was enough land to satisfy all claims. Those who were foremost in this transaction were the Boyles, skilful time-servers and speculators from Elizabeth's day (earls of Cork and Orrery, and Lord Broghill), and similar unscrupulous men. They had helped Cromwell ably, and now turned royalist as cleverly.

Accordingly, Charles II issued a Declaration that—

(a) The settlers up to the reign of Charles I, and also the republican soldiers, should be confirmed in their lands (a contradiction in terms);

(b) but that lands belonging to the Crown and the Church, and a few notable royalists such as Ormonde (chief of the Butlers) and Inchiquin (O'Brien), must be restored. Inchiquin had played into the Cromwellian Broghill's hands, while preserving a conventional loyalty, Ormonde had spent all for the Stewart cause.

(c) That all expelled Protestants and *innocent* Papists (*i. e.* those

who had not shared in the rebellion of 1641) should also be restored, *as soon as compensation had been found* for the new men (Cromwellians) who were occupying their property.

"There must be new discoveries made of a new Ireland," said the marquis of Ormonde, "for the old will not serve to satisfy these engagements."

In fact, the king made use of the Cromwellian settlement to simplify his own task. The Irish parliament which assembled in 1661 was elected on Cromwell's system, that is, only Protestants voted and no Irishman or Roman Catholic was elected. The Irish parliament had previously been an assembly for "The Pale" alone; henceforth it professed to be an assembly for all Ireland, but it was elected by a smaller minority than before.

The royal Declaration was by this Irish parliament turned into a Statute called the (Irish) *Act of Settlement* (1662), but the English ministry first altered a good many clauses so as to make it more favourable to the English settlers and the capitalists, whether Anglo-Irish or English. A number of contradictory rules were made about the "innocent" Irish papists, so that very few could satisfy all the conditions.

But the Commission of English Judges sent to Dublin to try the cases was more honest than the government and refused to accept the shameless false witness which the English settlers proffered: in six months the judges dealt with over 600 Irish and royalist claims, and restored the property of most claimants, so that a tremendous outcry arose from the Protestants. Government immediately yielded and dissolved the Commission, though thousands of cases were waiting. Then a counter-clamour burst out from the Irish which frightened the English; and the government finally ventured (*Explanatory Act*, 1665) to exact a surrender from the Cromwellians of a part—one-third—of their estates, with which to compensate all the other claimants.

Quite insufficient as these lands were, they were largely drawn upon by Charles II for grants to his favourites, or to persons who were to be bribed, the Russells, *e. g.*, getting the Cromwell estates, and James, duke of York, the regicides' estates, so that few of the royalists, and fewer still of the Roman-catholic Irish, recovered what was due to them. This left a rankling sense of injury among both classes.

As if recent events had not ruined Ireland enough, the English parliament now began to interfere with the country in the interests of English commerce. Among the worst of the speculators the Corporation of the City of London held a bad eminence. Cromwell added Liverpool and Worcester to the corporate landlords. If land could not be found to make fortunes for the English adventurers of the past twenty years, and other capitalists involved, some compensation might perhaps be got out of Irish trade for merchants who pushed their claims. The Navigation Act

(1660) had restricted maritime commerce afresh to English ships, adding that *English* ships meant those built in England, Ireland and the Plantations (or Colonies); that is, in all the dominions directly under the English Crown. But three years later, a new Act excluded Irish ships and also forbade the colonists to send their own ships and cargoes to Ireland, so that Ireland might only trade with them by importing and exporting through England. Next, a series of Acts (1663–80) forbade the importation into England of Irish cattle and sheep, mutton, butter, or cheese, lest English prices should be lowered by the competition, nor might Irish wool be exported to Europe, for a similar reason. The king perceived the injustice of these Acts, but he did not venture to oppose the English House of Commons, where the merchants were at least as selfish as the gentry. Ormonde, who struggled hard, of course failed. The duke of Buckingham insolently sneered that whoever was against the Bill “had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding.” Ormonde’s son, the gallant and beloved earl of Ossory, promptly challenged Buckingham, who characteristically shirked the duel, and arranged a murderous attack on Ormonde by an Irish bravo, Blood, in the streets of London. The duke only saved himself with great difficulty and Ossory went straight to court and accused Buckingham to his face.

“If my father comes to a violent end,” he said, “I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it . . . and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king’s chair. And I tell it you in His Majesty’s presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.”

Ormonde’s would-be murderer, Blood, a Cromwellian who had gained great estates in Ireland, had been foiled by Ormonde in a conspiracy (1663) and lost his property. He was protected by Buckingham, and when, some years later, his attempt to steal the Crown jewels led to his capture, Charles II pardoned him, granted him the land he claimed and desired Ormonde to forgive him. Such was the court of Charles II.¹

Ormonde and his son Ossory bore, perhaps, the only unstained names among the Restoration nobility. Ormonde, once the wealthiest of the peers, spent or lost for the royal cause something like a million in money or lands. Deeply impoverished, and continually slighted in London, he nevertheless undertook the thankless task of governing Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant (1661–9 and 1677–85). His high personal character may be said to have been the government of the country. He re-established the linen industry, founded by Strafford, his early friend; founded a woollen manufacture, so as to provide for sheep-breeding; and created an export of cloth to Europe. He was even strong enough to secure the amazing reform that, when the revenue would not cover the whole of the budget,

¹ And in the end Buckingham laid an accusation against Blood, got a verdict, secured his wealth, and left him to die in prison.

the court pensioners should go short, and not the necessary Services. Charles II treated his great servant with careless ingratitude, though he gave him the empty title of duke, and ordered Ossory on dangerous and even humiliating duties. An Irish petitioner once begged for the duke's help, because, he said, "I have no friend but God and your Grace." "Poor man," said Ormonde, "you could not have two friends who have less interest at court."

Ormonde during the long troubles had experienced the tragical effects of the influence of the papal priests on the ignorant and emotional Irishry, and he therefore consistently kept the government of Ireland, local or parliamentary, in Protestant hands. He tried to unite all the Protestant parties in a political unity, but the extreme Church party hampered his efforts at conciliation by persecuting the Ulster Presbyterians and the Independents. So good a man as Jeremy Taylor, bishop of an Irish see, thought that this was a right way of discouraging dissent, and, with another bishop, turned thirty-six ministers out of their churches. Blood's conspiracy of 1663 was made the excuse for dismissing sixty more, and an exodus to North America was the result.

For most of the reign of Charles II the penal laws against Roman-catholics in Ireland were not put in force, so that they received much better treatment than the Protestant Nonconformists, who were kept out of politics, fined and imprisoned, by the efforts of the episcopal party. But when the *Popish Plot* was raging in England, the English fanatics attacked also the Romanists of Ireland and the much-respected Archbishop Plunket was accused of treason. The Protestant jury of Dublin refused to listen to such an absurd charge, but the English agitators brought him to London, where he was voted guilty and executed. It was a gross instance of English party interference in Ireland, for the Irish Romanists themselves, in a statement which they named the *Remonstrance*, had declared their conviction that the pope had no power to decree the deposition of princes and stated that they recognised the temporal authority over them of the (Protestant) sovereign.

But before Charles' death the tables were curiously turned. He began to prosecute a design (of which Charles I had been falsely accused), helped forward by the unscrupulous Lord Berkeley, Lord-Lieutenant, of creating in Ireland a Romanist army which should establish a despotic and Romanist monarchy, first in Ireland and afterwards in England. It was a favourite project with James, duke of York. Richard Talbot, called in London "lying Dick Talbot," a staunch royalist but an unscrupulous plotter and duellist, was given control of the government of The Pale, and he rapidly created a new kind of military force. He dissolved the trained Protestant militia formed by Ormonde, confiscated their arms and equipment, as well as those of private persons, and gave the weapons, horses, etc. to Irish Romanists. Official oaths were suspended and

Romanists filled the bench, the corporations and other positions of influence and power. His brother was the Romanist archbishop and had complete influence over all the Irishry and at Rome. Unarmed, ignored in the courts, and in dread of worse things, Protestant owners began to sell their property for little or nothing, and fly to England, fearing a massacre. Tales of their fears and wrongs spread rapidly in England and were producing a sensation of alarm there, when Charles II died and James II ascended the throne.

From the disastrous injustice of Charles II, which endorsed the injustice of Cromwell, dates the worst misery of Ireland, which is not wholly political. Thenceforth the main factor in Irish questions, till the close of the nineteenth century, was the anxiety of the Irishry to acquire land on which to get a living, baffled or hindered, for more than a century, by the belief of the Protestant Anglo-Irish that tolerance to Roman-catholics would mean their use of political opportunities to inflict massacre.

On the death of Charles II nearly all the land, in the form of very large estates, was in the hands of wealthy men, whether English or Irish, whether they claimed by grants from James I, Cromwell, or Charles II, and whether they had got them by purchase, favouritism, bribery, or an act of conquest.

The Irish peasants could only get little holdings by paying heavily to these owners, and so the landlords formed a new type of chieftain, with many old-fashioned privileges, but few, or no, duties. Every generation which passed confirmed the seventeenth-century holders in their legal rights, but increased the competition among the peasants to rent a bit of land. Rents therefore rose quite beyond the worth of the land, producing very large incomes to the owners, but plunging the poor tenant into debt and misery. This is the meaning of "the Agrarian Question" in Ireland, from about 1630 to 1880.

XL

PREROGATIVE AND PARLIAMENT (IV)

JAMES II (1685-1688)

THE tranquillity of parties in England was little disturbed by the death of Charles II. The Whigs were discredited and leaderless and the Dissenters were not able to exercise any influence in the cities and boroughs or in local government anywhere. The Tories had for years declared their principle to be that of non-resistance, and James' first arbitrary acts were accepted without question and endorsed tacitly by parliament. According to his blunt habit, James let men see his first steps, a habit which had won respect for his courage and honesty. He seems to have thought that if first steps were not opposed a clear field lay beyond. He ordered all the taxes voted to Charles II to be still collected, and sent not only Oates and some other informers to severe punishment, but Baxter as well.

The new king's first address to the Council, however, convinced them that he had accepted the national decision, exhibited in Charles' reign, to maintain the national Church, and that he would be satisfied to preserve for himself and his court a Romanist oasis in the midst of the Protestant kingdom. If so, the people could afford to acquiesce till time should seat Mary on the throne. James informed the Council that he would make it his endeavour "to preserve the government, both in Church and State, as it is by law now established," and that he recognised the members of the Church to be his loyal subjects. "We have now the word of a king," said the Tories, "and a king who was never worse than his word." But they forgot their king's Jesuit advisers.

James' words had been carefully chosen with a view to his private interpretation of them. To him, as a good Romanist, no legislation on religion since 1531 had been "lawful," since it was contrary to papal law. *The Church "by law established"* in his mind meant the Roman Church. Nor was it known that James had accepted a handsome gift of money from the French ambassador and had apologised to him, with tears, for the melancholy constraint he was under of calling a parliament.

The parliament of 1685 complaisantly voted to James an even larger life revenue than that bestowed upon Charles, augmenting it by duties upon two colonial imports which now had become

articles of regular consumption, sugar and tobacco. Most of the late king's ministers continued in office, the admirable Halifax, the subtle Sunderland, and the unscrupulous Rochester (younger son of Clarendon), as well as a very able young politician, Godolphin, of whom everybody spoke well, a young man so tactful that Charles had described him as "never in the way and never out of the way."

But the Whig refugees in Holland did not understand the tranquillity of public feeling. Full of their own wrongs, they encouraged the vain and restless duke of Monmouth to fancy that his popularity would suffice to set rebellion going, and that he had but to appear, like Henry VII, to find a plain path to the throne. William of Orange gave no encouragement, having no wish to see his wife's title to the throne set aside, so Monmouth only got his three ships fitted out by the assistance of merchants of the old De Witt party, who stuck at nothing to embarrass William.

The little expedition landed at Lyme Regis, the crowd shouting for "A Monmouth and the Protestant religion," and here Monmouth issued an absurd proclamation, accusing James of a string of crimes, from procuring the Fire of London to poisoning Charles II, and promising tolerance to all Protestants and proscription to all Romanists. Few but country people joined him, till he came to Taunton, where the whole town acclaimed him and he caused himself to be proclaimed king. But Bristol defied him, and as a strong royal army was posted in the neighbourhood, "King Monmouth, as the people called him, retired to the marshes of Somerset rather helplessly. The king's troops followed him up, and the "battle" of Sedgemoor ended the hopeless attempt. Monmouth's flight, capture and execution ensued rapidly, and James' agents, the brutal Jeffreys and the cynical Colonel Kirke, punished the West Country in the *Bloody Assize*, of which traditions still survive.

As much money as possible was extorted from the relatives of all who could be accused of even sympathising with the rebellion; as many rebels as possible were hanged and shot before the eyes of their neighbours, and even persons who in charity had given food or shelter to fugitives were executed.

As usual, a crowd of miserable captives were herded as slaves to the colonial plantations, few of whom survived the torments of the voyage. The cruelty of the punishments brought, for the first time, detestation upon the name of the king, and the popular hatred included the queen, who, with the ladies of her court, earned the stigma of rapacity by extorting money from prisoners.

This easy triumph and the unresisted punishments seemed to the king to relieve him from the necessity of caution. He proceeded rapidly and openly on the course he designed for establishing arbitrary power and the Roman-catholic religion. Jeffreys was made Lord Chancellor, the army largely increased and a camp formed for it at Hounslow, so as to over-awe London. To ensure

its obedience as a weapon a number of Roman-catholic officers were named, the king *dispensing with* the Test Act in each case. To prove the legality of his action, one case was tried, the king interviewed the judges first and removed several who were not submissive: "Your Majesty may find twelve judges of your mind, but hardly twelve lawyers," said one of them. The verdict of the judges being thus obtained for the Crown, a host of Romanists were promoted to military and other posts, and even to parish churches. But the royal attack on the Church was designed to be made more decisively through the bishops and clergy themselves, their principle of non-resistance being reckoned upon to make them agents of the destruction of their own Church. The king first directed the bishop of London to deprive a certain London parson. Compton said that he must first investigate the case. The king then named a new court of Ecclesiastical Commission, with Jeffreys at its head, and had Bishop Compton himself suspended. In Oxford and Cambridge the posts which fell vacant (all of them in those days were ecclesiastical) were filled by royal nominees who were known to be Romanists, including the bishopric of Oxford. The king required all his ministers and officials to join his Church, and dismissed those who refused, including Halifax, and even the king's hitherto subservient brother-in-law, Rochester, whose refusal probably indicated that he felt James' plans were destined to failure.

So far, little resistance had been offered to the royal orders, and the unexpected opposition of Oxford, where Fellows, students and servants unanimously ignored the presence of the new Heads intruded illegally by the king, was effectively ended by sending troops who cleared out the disaffected and left the Romanists in possession.

The next step was the publication of a *Declaration of Indulgence* (1687), *suspending* all the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters and *dispensing with* all tests imposed by law upon officials. It was difficult to offer resistance to an abolition of laws and trials, but a flood of pamphlets appeared, against or for the Indulgence. Quakers and Anabaptists naturally accepted the royal boon, and their prisons were opened; Presbyterians and Independents hesitated what attitude to adopt. Substantial justice was certainly being done to numbers of honest men, yet it was at the expense of breaking the laws. James, in fact, was now reversing his brother's latest policy, and was hoping to get Whig support against the Church and the Tories. He exerted the royal influence which Charles had so easily obtained over the governing bodies of London and other towns to cancel the former Tory appointments and place Whigs in office. Parliament was dissolved and all the Crown agents were directed to prepare for nonconformist representatives in the next.

Finally, the king re-issued the Declaration of Indulgence and

ordered the clergy to read it in their churches upon two Sundays in May, 1688. To the clergy this meant not only a definite endorsement of the royal power to abolish Acts of Parliament, but the destruction of the Established Church. To many it seemed that they had to choose between standing by the one principle or the other. To obey the king meant the destruction of their Church; but to disobey meant a confession that they had, for more than a generation, been inculcating a mistaken principle (Non-resistance), and had now discovered that there might be some justification for the Whig principle, that a bad king ought to be resisted.

The bishops, however, made no positive move towards resistance, but first endeavoured to change the royal purpose. Archbishop Sancroft with six others¹ drew up a respectful, almost obsequious-sounding petition to beg his Majesty not to require from his faithful clergy an act so contrary to their consciences. "We hope your Majesty," said Ken, "will extend to us the liberty you offer to others." If the king persisted, they must follow their principle of passivity and endure the consequences.

The English churchmen were to have little more liberty of conscience under James II than under Cromwell: the bishops were at once sent to the Tower and ordered to be tried for "publishing a false, malicious and seditious libel." Hardly any of the clergy read the *Indulgence*, and where, here and there, a compliant vicar began to do so the congregation hurriedly tramped out of church.

At this moment, June 1688, the birth of a son to the king and queen was announced. The child was hailed by their co-religionists as a miraculous gift, a token of Divine approval, but by the scoffing Protestant public as a fraud. In any case, the whole political situation was altered. The accession of Mary could no longer be hoped for, and the little prince would be brought up in his father's faith. The permanent triumph of Romanism, or else civil war, seemed now the prospect of the future. It remained to be seen whether religious feeling or loyalty to the Crown would prove the stronger.

The extraordinary rapidity with which events now moved to the bloodless revolution of 1688, "your safe revolution," as a foreign critic afterwards termed it, proved how completely James had, in three years, alienated all classes of his subjects.

The larger part of the Church was in no doubt; the whole must be more important than one lately adopted principle. The non-conformists could place no confidence in James' tolerance; harsh as the Church had been to them, the Roman-catholics in power would certainly be worse. There were doubts even among the Romanists themselves whether such sweeping illegality would be able to establish their cause.

¹ Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Trelawney of Bristol, Lloyd of St. Asaph, and Lake of Chichester. Bishops Compton, of London, and Lloyd, of Norwich, had been suspended.

The most carefully selected London jury which James' agents could empanel refused to convict the Seven Bishops, and their appearance for trial had been the signal for a unanimous outburst in their honour in which Dissenters and Churchmen vied. The news of the acquittal was carried to the country by bonfires and galloping, shouting messengers, as if some great victory had been won. In the camp upon Hounslow Heath, where Irish regiments were seen with intense ill-will by the English troops, the rejoicing among the English regiments was louder than anywhere else. "So much the worse for them," commented James.

On that very day Admiral Herbert set off for Holland bearing a letter to William of Orange, as husband of Princess Mary, signed by seven representatives of English parties and interests, begging him to come to save the liberties of England and Protestantism. William had been sounded previously and had promised to risk the adventure if he should receive such an invitation.

The seven signatories were:—two Whig peers of the midlands, Shrewsbury (a converted Roman-catholic of the old nobility) and Devonshire (an arrogant man who cherished a personal spite against James for inflicting on him a well-merited disgrace); two Yorkshire magnates, Danby, representing the Tory party, and Lumley, a royalist representing the English army officers; Bishop Compton, for the Church; Edward Russell and Henry Sidney, members of two of the most powerful Whig and south country families, which for two generations had been in opposition to the Crown and men who might be considered, since the execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, natural leaders of a constitutional, or even republican, movement. Herbert himself spoke for the Navy.

For William the question was, first, of the interest of his own country, sorely in need of help against the overwhelming might of France; secondly, of his wife's title to succeed to the English throne. At the moment James' daughters believed, like the Londoners and most of the Protestant party, that the little Prince of Wales was a baby smuggled into the royal palace, but to William the origin of the child mattered little: its existence threatened a permanent Romanist rule of England, a permanent Anglo-French combination which would destroy the free and Protestant Netherlands. William ran a great risk, for he had before him the recent failure of Monmouth and must have doubted whether the English nobles, who were reputed to be wholly selfish, either could or would provide the support they had offered.

He faced the risk and issued in September his *Declaration* to the English nation, announcing that he came upon the invitation of many lords, and as the husband of Mary, to procure a free parliament and to abide by its decision. Soon after the distribution of this manifesto in England, William was reported to be embarking. The news of his son-in-law's expedition terrified and perplexed James strangely. Apparently he had made no plans for

meeting resistance, and though his navy and army were both considerable he placed no confidence in them. The navy, in fact, was so vehemently Protestant in sentiment that a Romanist admiral appointed by James could get no sailors to man his flagship and was compelled in consequence to resign. The army had been offended by James' appointment of a foreign and Romanist commander-in-chief—Duras, whom the king had created Lord Feversham.

James endeavoured to conciliate his subjects by cancelling as fast as possible his recent actions and orders. He restored Bishop Compton and the expelled Oxford Fellows, abolished the ecclesiastical commission, restored the confiscated charters, and promised a free parliament, but, characteristically, at the last moment, he forbade the writs of election to be issued, and informed his Council that he would never relinquish his *dispensing power*, with the curious comment: "Yielding ruined my father."

Such behaviour conciliated nobody, and when Louis XIV's offer of a friendly refuge was, not unnaturally, accepted by the king for his wife and infant son, the few who would have held to him loyally, and the moderates who, even now, hoped to arrange some compromise, were alike discouraged. James in the hands of Louis would find no English loyalists left.

William's voyage was delayed for many days by "a papist wind," and the London news-sheets informed their readers daily how the wind sat off the Dutch coast. When at last he reached Tor Bay, with a body of Dutch and Huguenot troops, he found no opposition, but little encouragement. Devon remembered the ending of Monmouth's attempt, and none of the signatories of the letter, or any other Whig chiefs, were present to welcome him at that spot.

For a few days James in London and William at Exeter both waited anxiously; but the longer James hesitated, the easier it was for those about him to make terms with the revolutionary party, whose plans proved extraordinarily successful. By the time James had brought himself to the point of marching westwards, the Dutch were advancing, unhindered, eastwards, and messengers were riding into London with the news that Danby was holding York for William, and Lumley, Newcastle; two other Yorkshire peers, Lord Wharton and the earl of Burlington, were foremost for the Prince of Orange; Lancashire and Cheshire were being raised for him by Lord Delamere, Derby and Nottinghamshire by the earl of Devonshire; while the south, where lay the actual forces of both king and prince, exhibited little interest, waiting to see what would happen. The officers of the royal army kept most of their troops inactive, only some Irish regiments advanced westwards and met the Dutch troops in a little skirmish at Reading. The people joined the Dutch against the Irish.

James, who had reached Salisbury, now retired again to London,

and there learned that his favourite officer, John Churchill, had gone to the prince of Orange, as well as Bishop Compton and the young representatives of Clarendon, Albemarle and Ormonde, names so lately famous as champions of hereditary right. Even Princess Anne, influenced by Lady Churchill, had done the same, with her husband Prince George of Denmark. "God help me, for my own children have deserted me," cried the despairing king. He attempted to fly, and his departure left the City of London the real arbiter of the situation. A rumour that the Irishmen were coming to massacre produced a night of panic, "the Irish night"; then the archbishop, the Lord Mayor and the well-known marquis of Halifax at last undertook responsibility. They garrisoned the Tower with reliable troops, posted guards in the streets, and invited William to enter the capital. But before he could reach it, James had returned, and the three authorities then determined that James' troops must camp twenty miles to the east of London, and William's twenty miles to the west, so as to avoid an armed conflict. The effect of the king's return was seen in the action of Sancroft, who at once withdrew from the provisional council. The king had a right to his allegiance so long as he still claimed it.

By clever diplomacy James was induced to take up his abode at Rochester, where the means for a safe flight were left obvious to him, and soon William learned that he had successfully fled to France. His flight appeared to the majority to release his subjects from any obligation to make efforts for so hopeless and timid a sovereign. "No chronicle can parallel what has been produced in a week's time—to have a king and a Prince of Wales and a queen fly from an Invader without a blow. . . . There is so many gone in a week's time as would amaze you; night and day the water is full of barges," writes a lady in London. The mob set to work to pull down the popish chapels, and sacked the Spanish ambassador's residence. The Lords now assembled in Council, and agreed that a Convention ought to meet. They requested William's co-operation, and he invited all peers and all members of any of Charles the Second's parliaments to assemble and advise him what to do. This meeting also recommended a Convention, that is, a parliament voluntarily elected, as if it had been summoned by a king, like that of 1660.

The Convention met, January 1689, and three views were put forward. (a) Danby maintained that, as "the king never dies," the crown could not be vacant. James not being on the throne, Mary, his heir, must be reigning. (b) The Whig view was that the throne was vacant, since James was no longer reigning, but was alive, and the property of a living man can not devolve on his heirs. (c) A small party of the "High Tories" suggested a regency in James' name, but they abandoned their plan very soon on feeling the general disapproval. William's own view was as important as

that of the legislature. He let it be known that he would not accept a subordinate position, such as that of regent or merely king-consort, and Mary let it be known that she would not accept the crown alone. Finally, attempts to be logical were very sensibly abandoned, and the facts of the situation were dealt with in statements which served their purpose of providing formulas which sufficiently satisfied the conventions and sentiments of the majority.

(1) It was declared that James II had attempted to subvert the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and that he had abdicated and that the throne was therefore vacant.

(2) It was declared that the rule of a Roman-catholic sovereign over this country was inconsistent with liberty.

(3) A **Declaration of Right** was drawn up, in which the various despotic practices from which the country had suffered under James II were enumerated and each was declared to be illegal.

(a) In this manner were finally condemned :—The suspension of laws; dispensing with penalties for breaking laws, *as lately used*; the erection of special courts, such as that of Ecclesiastical Commission; keeping a standing army without consent of parliament.

(b) Certain liberties, lately denied, were asserted :—Subjects have a right to petition the Crown; to possess (if Protestants) weapons for self-defence; to be brought to trial before juries composed of independent persons; not to be punished before they are convicted, and in any case only by penalties reasonable and customary.

(c) It was stated that parliaments must be summoned frequently, elections be free, and members entitled to freedom of speech.

(4) Finally, and as part and parcel of this Declaration (which was immediately afterwards passed as an Act of Parliament, the *Bill of Rights*), Mary and William were declared king and queen for their respective lives and the throne was settled, first, upon their children, then upon Anne and her children. Except for the extension of the sovereignty to William throughout his life, should he survive his wife, this settlement procured what had been expected ever since the marriage of Mary to William, the natural, hereditary succession of the crown in the royal family, and this to some degree veiled the fact that the setting aside of the infant Prince of Wales constituted a breach in hereditary succession and a denial of the absolute Divine Right of monarchy.

XLI

THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN AGE (1660-1688)

THE seventeenth century, upon being reviewed as a whole, presents a series of vehement movements and reactions. (1) The natural reaction against the strong monarchical government of the Tudors had exhibited itself in parliament before the death of Elizabeth, and continued to grow stronger among the very class to which the Tudors had trusted most, the gentry. As soon as the commercial class which Elizabeth had also favoured joined with the gentry in asserting their will and power to control government (under James and Charles), a struggle was inevitable. (2) The intense interest felt in religious speculation turned rapidly, in England as in other states, into a practical contest for supremacy, and after forty years of a steady parliamentary struggle with crown, ministers, and bishops (1600-1640), the opposition to Church government and the opposition to royal government united and forced on a civil war. It was a war waged with infinitely less cruelty and destructiveness than those in other parts of Europe, but six years of it left a horror of strife at home so great as to lead men, afterwards, to prefer submission or compromise to a fresh appeal to arms. (3) The victory in battle of the extreme section and its rule for twelve years (1648-1660) brought about a strong reaction towards both monarchy and Church which lasted for a quarter of a century. Then the passion for theology waned, and the further advance of individual freedom in thought and action gradually encouraged the distinction and separation of religious parties from one another and their fresh grouping among political parties.

Charles II had, as early as 1662, recognised the fact of the existence of definite religious bodies separated from the National Church. His parliaments and the leaders of the Church itself refused to see the fact and defeated his scheme of tolerance. But by the time of the accession of James II the fact had won its way to general recognition, and the Church was constrained to acknowledge defeat in her effort to retain the entire people within one fold.

Then the attempt of James to place the government, the army, and the endowments of religion and education in the hands of the Roman-catholic minority drove the Church and the Dissenters to recognise that they had in common certain principles, and the refusal of the Dissenters to ally with Rome against the Protestant Church of England marked the beginning of a mutual tolerance.

The characteristics of the Church in this epoch are (a) the eminence of her prelates, and (b) the devotion and breadth of her lay members. Such men as Chief Justice Evelyn, Cotton, and Izaak Walton, Lord Clarendon, or Sir Matthew Hale illustrate the hold which the Church had upon leading Englishmen. The most famous work of devotion of this age, *The Whole Duty of Man*, was anonymously published and bears no clerical impress. It became the most popular religious handbook of the laity for generations. The divines who commanded the confidence of the learned and polished laity included, however, some of the most distinguished among the whole Anglican hierarchy. The learned Pearson and Jeremy Taylor (*Holy Living and Holy Dying*) left names almost world-famous; the profound learning of Barrow and Stillingfleet, the eloquence of South, the wit of Fuller, the energy of the practical Burnet, illuminated the Church in the latter half of the century. Many of them were disciples of Laud.

A return to the native English respect for practical results, for deeds, rather than theories, was steadily proceeding during the twenty-five years of Charles II. The intellectual progress made by that generation is less remarkable in the political and ecclesiastical spheres than in the realm of science, and the reasonableness of the political settlement of 1688 testifies to a scientific tinge in the thought of all the leading men. The Utilitarian philosophers have been mentioned, there were also thinkers who began to investigate what we call *political economy*. In literature the great, but then little known, name of Milton is that of the most intellectual and the least religious of all religious poets, while on the other hand another immortal name, Bunyan, little more honoured than Milton's in his own time, stands for a new style of writing—for a popular prose which would appeal to the new democratic class of readers, the *Mobile*, as aristocratic society called them (or *mob*). Many a scholar, teacher and author had in past ages emerged from "the common people," but so soon as he stood forth, like Langland, to write or speak, he no longer remained one of them. The seventeenth century, on the contrary, sees writers and readers taking literary art into humbler homes, and their writing, natural and vivacious, is still delightful to read. Bunyan the countryman and Pepys the Londoner belong to "the masses," not to the aristocracy. The self-consciousness of Tudor prose is gone, and we find looks less quaint, more clear. Controversy relinquishes ponderous abuse for satire: if Milton's belonged to the slashing school, Butler's *Hudibras* and Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* were the books which the public read. Private letters and diaries are often touched with humour; the gift of easy self-expression seems fitly to characterise an age in which "the Mobb" itself was a political factor, an age in which the most effective bit of political propaganda was a satirical ballad. Wharton, in 1687, wrote the verses of *Lillibullero*, and Purcell set them to a tune which instantly

captivated everybody who could sing or whistle. It was, of course, the marquis, not the musician, who boasted ever after that *he* had "sung King James out of three kingdoms."

On the other hand, the most fashionable contemporary literature of the day, its drama, so highly rated by those who patronised it in Charles' time, is to us almost dead. Davenant, Rochester, Buckingham, and even "the pathetic Otway" have not undeservedly fallen into general oblivion, and this although the drama was as much a passion, with high and low, at the close of the century as at its beginning. But the style, the acting and the morals were rather those of the court of Louis XIV than of that of Elizabeth, which the Puritans had killed, and they became obsolete when the Restoration fashions faded.

Just as we habitually speak of Elizabethan literature, so we ought to speak of Caroline mathematics. The king's patronage of the Royal Society is the pleasantest thing about him to remember. The mathematical researches of Isaac Newton—the greatest English name of the age—the discoverer (in England) of the higher mathematical science and of its application to the phenomena of gravity, light, etc., make the era brilliant in the annals of intellectual progress. Beside Newton stand his friends Halley, Horrocks and Flamsteed, renowned as astronomers; Boyle, the "Father of Chemistry."¹ Wren, the great architect of the age, and his companions or disciples,—Gibb, who built St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, and Cooper, who planned Bath—were artists who based their designs on mathematical proportion. So late as the 'fifties, a lad who wanted to learn mathematics had some difficulty in finding a teacher of arithmetic or algebra; and even "how to keep merchants' books" was a secret only to be imparted as a favour to a good apprentice. But by the close of the century the University of Cambridge, the home of Newton, and the Royal Society in London were both providing lectures in mathematical and other modern sciences. Quite consistently, the general taste and education of the age is characterised by a devotion to proportion, clarity and logic, while colour, fancy and mystery were discarded and became unfashionable. It was at this time that they began to whitewash churches.

Education must have suffered severely by the alternate suppression of cavalier and parliamentary Fellows in the Universities and of episcopalian and nonconformist private schools. But great attention was paid by the wealthier classes to fitting their sons for life by a thorough, and usually expensive, education. The gentry continued to absorb more than their fair share of wealth. High rents were paid, since there was competition for land to occupy, so that the profits of agriculture went into the landlord's pocket, and trade was in this period bearing a large share of taxation, by way of

¹ "And brother of the earl of Cork," as the notorious epitaph runs, in both phrases characteristic of the age.

excise or of customs, so that the gentleman enjoyed a period of relief, after his severe treatment by Cromwell. The war and puritan domination had left the average country parson poorer than ever; the squire was plainly the master and often the paymaster of parson and peasant; and the gap between the higher clergy and the parish priest grew wider than it had been since the middle ages.

The Great Fire, which swept away three-quarters of medieval London and cleansed the capital of the plague, almost seems to mark an epoch in the customs of the nation. When the new streets arose, the new gathering-places of gossip and news were, not the vanished aisles of St. Paul's, the Hanse-house, or the taverns, but the Exchange, the Park, the barbers' shops, and above all the *Coffee-houses*. Hard drinkers as the Restoration gallants were—another contrast with the earlier half of the century—it was no longer necessary for well-to-do people to drink ale or go dry, for tea, chocolate and coffee had become suddenly popular, especially the latter. To the Turkey Company this new habit was due, and the love of news and chat made the coffee-houses informal clubs. Fashion resorted to Wills', Garraway's, or White's; merchants and men of letters had other favourite houses.

The clubs of the coffee-houses naturally encouraged the newspaper. Besides the government's *Gazettes* there were also more informative sheets called *Mercuries*; but they too could only be published with government permission, and news not approved of by the ministry or the court was suppressed, as, for instance, the acquittal of the Seven Bishops. Danby once tried to suppress altogether the open discussion of news by closing the coffee-houses, but the public outcry was too strong, and that form of censorship had to be abandoned while the newspapers proceeded to add a variety of non-political information as well as advertisements. The pioneers were L'Estrange and Defoe, who has been called *the father of the Leading Article*.

The Commonwealth, which had shown the ministers of the restored monarchy how to levy an excise (on salt), and how to assess a proportional, or income, tax, had also succeeded in annexing for the state a profitable monopoly, the Post. The prohibition to ordinary carriers to convey letters was regarded as a piece of tyranny, as a petition to Cromwell's Council, in 1654, from the Mayor and citizens of Norwich showed. "Having bought our liberties," wrote those outspoken citizens, "at vast expense of blood and treasure we hope not again to be troubled with distasteful monopolies, but to have liberty to carry our letters freely." Cromwell, however, had insisted on keeping this monopoly, in order to be able to keep watch on the correspondence of suspects; probably Clarendon was moved at first by the same motive, which was familiar in continental countries and which no doubt accounts for the universal development, at this time, of regular government

posts and packet-boats. But the post proved an extremely profitable business, even though the fear of secret postal services led the government to keep its charges very low. In 1680 there was a penny post in the London district, while for twopence a letter was conveyed for long distances.

The Commonwealth had, also, tried to procure a better repair of the roads, by setting up boards of highway overseers, and as regards the main through-roads to London, seemingly with success. Under Charles II places of importance could reckon upon a postal delivery every other day, a speed and regularity not to be surpassed for a century. A regular coach-service ran between London and Oxford in the surprisingly short space of a single day. The long journey from London to York could be managed in six days, or, for the wealthy, in four. There was even a guide-book of all the main roads, giving the distances, showing bridges, hills, bogs, etc., from town to town.

But the increase of traffic wore out the old roads and made all the more overwhelming the task of mending them. This, according to law and old custom, fell upon the parish through which the given piece of road lay, but the manifest unfairness of laying so much cost and labour upon the poor countrymen usually kept the justices from enforcing the law. It was therefore common for carts and coaches to be upset or broken, or for packets to be lost out of the carriers' carts by the sheer jolting.

Under Charles II London was beginning to think a little more of the safety of the streets, to post stronger watches and even to recognise that men might have occasion to go about after dusk. It was provided that on moonless nights every tenth house should hang out a lantern. Nobles and gentlemen who went about in London usually took armed servants to attend them, for a gentleman in lace ruffles and diamond buttons was worth robbing and footpads were numerous. While Oxford Street was still a country road, running between hedges, and the site of Regent Street a solitude where woodcock might be shot, there was ample cover for thieves.

The increasing number of thieves and beggars testifies to the increase of the gap between poverty and riches. The "Settlement Act" of 1662, and the early corn laws, which kept out foreign corn to raise the price of home corn—something on the Elizabethan model, but without the Elizabethan safeguard of raising wages to match—hastened the downward tendency of the country labourer. At the end of the century a competent observer considered that one-half of the population cost more than it could earn, and that the poor rates made up the balance. Wages, that is, were too low and the better-to-do paid rates to make up the deficit. Working men in the busy towns were not much better off. The tendency, throughout the century, was towards a sharper division between employers and employed. Fewer and fewer of the latter could

hope to become masters, *i. e.* employers, for *capital* was more and more a necessity in business. This capital was provided by companies, which during the seventeenth century had become a feature of commerce. At first all the partners who clubbed together their resources were active in the business. Then, as people's *shares* were inherited by their children, and divided, certain partners only would direct the business and the others be content to have some profits, in return for the use of their money by the firm. Thus, gradually, *a share* became a definite sum, and those who subscribed largely did so by subscribing (called *buying*) a number of shares. Then, if a man wished to give up his partnership he did so by selling his shares to someone else, who joined the firm in his place. All this made a gulf between workers and owners in trades where much capital was employed. Besides this, the puritan régime had tended to severity in working conditions. Serious, earnest masters made their employees work steadily, and the disuse of so many old holidays and pleasures left for the town labourer little amusement except drinking.

As a general statement, it is true to say that the severity and honesty of the puritan temper made for success in commerce. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century the dishonesty of merchants and manufacturers had very much hindered English trade with other countries. Now the complaints of bad goods and short measure begin to grow less.

But public spirit among the descendants of the Puritans seems to have taken a political or sectarian tinge rather than a philanthropic. Charitable benefactions are fewer and little care was taken for those already existing. The Revolution of 1688 was aristocratic and political and held little interest or hope for at least one half of the nation.

PARALLEL TABLES OF SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND	FRANCE	SPAIN, NETHERLANDS	EMPIRE, THE NORTH	ITALY, THE TURKS
1485 Henry VII 1488 <i>JAMES IV</i> 1497 <i>Newfoundland</i> 1509 Henry VIII 1513 <i>JAMES V</i> 1531 Secession from Rome 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace 1542 <i>MARY</i> 1547 Edward VI 1553 Mary I 1554 M. marries Philip II 1558 <i>Elizabeth</i> 1567 <i>JAMES VI</i> 1569 Rising of the North 1571 Anjou marriage plan 1577-80 Drake's Voyage 1581 2nd Anjou marriage plan 1587 Mary executed 1588 Sp. Armada defeated 1598 Burreigh d. 1600 East India Co. 1601 Essex' Rising	1483 CHARLES VIII 1498 LOUIS XII 1515 FRANÇOIS I 1536 Calvin's <i>Institutio</i> 1547 HENRI II 1559 FRANÇOIS II 1560 CHARLES IX 1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew 1574 HENRI III 1576 Catholic League 1584 War of the three Henries 1589 Henri III murdered 1590 HENRI IV 1598 Edict of Nantes	(1479) Ferdinand (S.) Philip I (N.) 1492 <i>West Indies</i> 1498 <i>Cape of Good Hope</i> 1506 CHARLES V (N.) 1516 CHARLES V (S.) 1555 PHILIP II (N.) 1556 " (S.) 1568 Netherlands revolt 1572 The Water-beggars 1578-83 Anjou in N. 1581 UNITED PROVINCES 1584 Wm. of Orange murdered MAURICE of Orange [ed 1598 PHILIP III	1493 MAXIMILIAN I 1517 Luther's <i>Theses</i> 1519 CHARLES V 1521 Diet of Worms [den 1523 Gustavus Vasa in Swe- 1525 ✕ Pavia 1526 German peasant war 1530 <i>Confession of Augsburg</i> 1547 ✕ Muhlberg 1558 FERDINAND I 1564 MAXIMILIAN II 1576 RUDOLF II 1588-1648 CHRISTIAN IV (Denmark and Norway) 1599 CHARLES IX (Sweden)	1492 ALEXANDER VI [Italy 1494 Charles VIII invades 1496 Max. invades Italy Louis XII invades Italy 1503 JULIUS II 1513 LEO X 1515 French invasion 1516 CHARLES V (Naples) 1523 CLEMENT VII 1525 ✕ Pavia 1526 ✕ <i>Mohacs</i> 1527 Sack of Rome 1540 Jesuit Order 1545 Council of Trent 1555-9 PAUL IV 1559-66 PIUS V 1571 ✕ <i>Lepanto</i> 1572-85 GREGORY XIII 1585-90 SIXTUS V 1592-1610 Galileo at Padua

GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE	UNITED NETHERLANDS	SPAIN AND SPANISH NETHERLANDS	EMPIRE AND THE NORTH
1603 James I	1609 Louis XIII			1612 MATTHIAS (E.)
1616 Shakespeare <i>d.</i>	1614 Last meeting of Es- tates till 1789			1611-32 Gustavus Adolphus (S.)
1625 Charles I	1620-42 Richelieu	1625 FREDERICK HENRY	1621 PHILIP IV	1619 FERDINAND II (E.) Bohemian revolution
	1628 Fall of Rochelle			1618-48 Thirty Years' War
				1632 ✕ Lützen
1640 Long Parliament	1643 Louis XIV	1647-50 WILLIAM II		1637 FERDINAND III (E.)
1642-8 Civil War				1648 Peace of Westphalia
1649 COMMONWEALTH	1648-53 The Fronde wars	1650-72 Republic under de Witt		1654 Charles X (S.)
1653-8 CROMWELL				1658 LEOPOLD I (E.)
1659 <i>Vacancy</i>				1660 Charles XI (S.)
1660 Charles II	1661 Mazarin <i>d.</i>			
1662 Royal Society		1668 Triple alliance Aix-la-Chapelle	1667 Devolution War	
1665-7 War with Dutch	1668 Peace of Holland	1672 WILLIAM III		
1666 Fire of London	1678 Peace of Nimeguen			
	1685 E. of Nantes revoked			
1685 James II		1688 William acquires English crown		1683 Turks besiege Vienna
1688 William III and Mary II				

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PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGNS

K. = for the King. s. = siege, besieges. d. = defeated.
P. = for Parliament. v. = victorious. battlefields underlined.

- 1642 (A) The King: Shrewsbury—Wellington—Wolverhampton—Birmingham—Kenilworth—Southam—Burtonhills—Edgecote—Edgehill.
Essex (P.): London—Worcester—Stratford—Kinerton—Edgehill—Warwick—Coventry—London.
The King: Edgehill—Banbury—Oxford—Colnbrook—Brentford—Turnham Green—Oxford [winter].
- (B) Newcastle (K.): the Tees—Piercebridge—York—Tadcaster (v.)—Pontefract—West Riding—Bradford—York [winter].
Fairfax (P.): York—Tadcaster—Hull—West Riding—Bradford (v.)—Selby [winter].
- (C) Hopton and Grenville (K.): Bodmin—Launceston—Tavistock.
Waller (P.): London—Farnham—Winchester—Arundel—Chichester.
- 1643 (A) Royalists detached from Oxford:
(a) Hopton Heath (v.)—Lichfield (v.).
(b) Chalgrove (v.).
(c) Bristol taken (July).
(d) Roundway Down (v.)—Wilmot raises s. Devizes.
(e) Torrington (Aug.) (v.)—Barnstaple, Bideford, Exeter taken.
(f) Gloucester s. by K. (Aug.)—s. raised—Evesham—Cotswolds—Stow—Burford—Faringdon—Newbury—Oxford.
- (B) Essex: London—Thame—Aylesbury—Brickhills—Chalgrove (June)—Colnbrook—Aylesbury—Stow—Gloucester (raises s.)—Tewkesbury—Cheltenham—Cirencester—Cricklade—Hungerford—Newbury—Reading.
- (C) Newcastle: York } West Riding—Adwalton Moor (Newcastle v.)—Hull
Fairfax: Selby } (s. by N.).
- (D) Hopton: Braddock Down (v.) (Jan.)—Launceston—Sourton Down (d.)—Stratton (v.)—Chard—Taunton—Bridgwater—Chewton Mendip (v.)—Lansdown—holds Devizes.
Waller: Bristol (March)—Malmesbury (v.)—Gloucester, Highnam (v.)—Wye Valley raided—Gloucester—Lansdown (v.)—s. Devizes—Wilmot—raises s. and destroys W.'s army.
- (E) Cromwell: from E. Counties to Lincs.—Gainsborough (v.) (July) succours Hull—Winceby (v.).
- 1644 (A) Anglo-Irish army lands at Mostyn—Nantwich (d.).
M. of Newcastle holds Newcastle, s. Sunderland—holds York.
Scots army to Newcastle on Tyne—raises s. Sunderland—s. York.
Fairfax: Yorkshire—Nantwich (v.)—s. York.
Manchester and Cromwell: Northants—s. York—Marston Moor (v.).
- (B) Rupert: Oxford—Shrewsbury—Whitechurch—M. Drayton—Stockport—Eccles—Bolton—Wigan—Liverpool—Lathom, raises s.—Preston—Skipton—Knaresborough—Marston Moor (d.)—York—Thirsk—Richmond—Wensleydale—Garstang—Preston—Liverpool—Chester—Wales.
- (C) Waller and Essex: threaten Oxford:
(a) The King: Burford—Evesham—Worcester—Bewdley—Woodstock—Buckingham—Cropredy (v.).
(b) Waller: Bromsgrove—Cropredy—Northampton—London.
(c) Essex: Bucks.—N. Oxon—Evesham—Burford by downs to Dorset—raises s. Lyme—Tiverton—Okehampton—Lostwithiel.
(a) The King: (Cropredy)—Evesham—Somerset Hills—Chard—Exeter taken—Okehampton—Lostwithiel (v.)—Chard—Blandford—Salisbury—Andover—Newbury—Wallingford—Oxford.
- 1645 Fairfax: closes on Oxford—abandons s.—Brickhills—Northants—Naseby (v.)
King and Rupert to Stow—Evesham—Droitwich—Market Drayton—(s. of Chester raised) Stone—Loughboro'—Daventry (to relieve Oxford)—M. Harborough—Naseby (d.)—Ashby—Lichfield—Bewdley—Hereford.

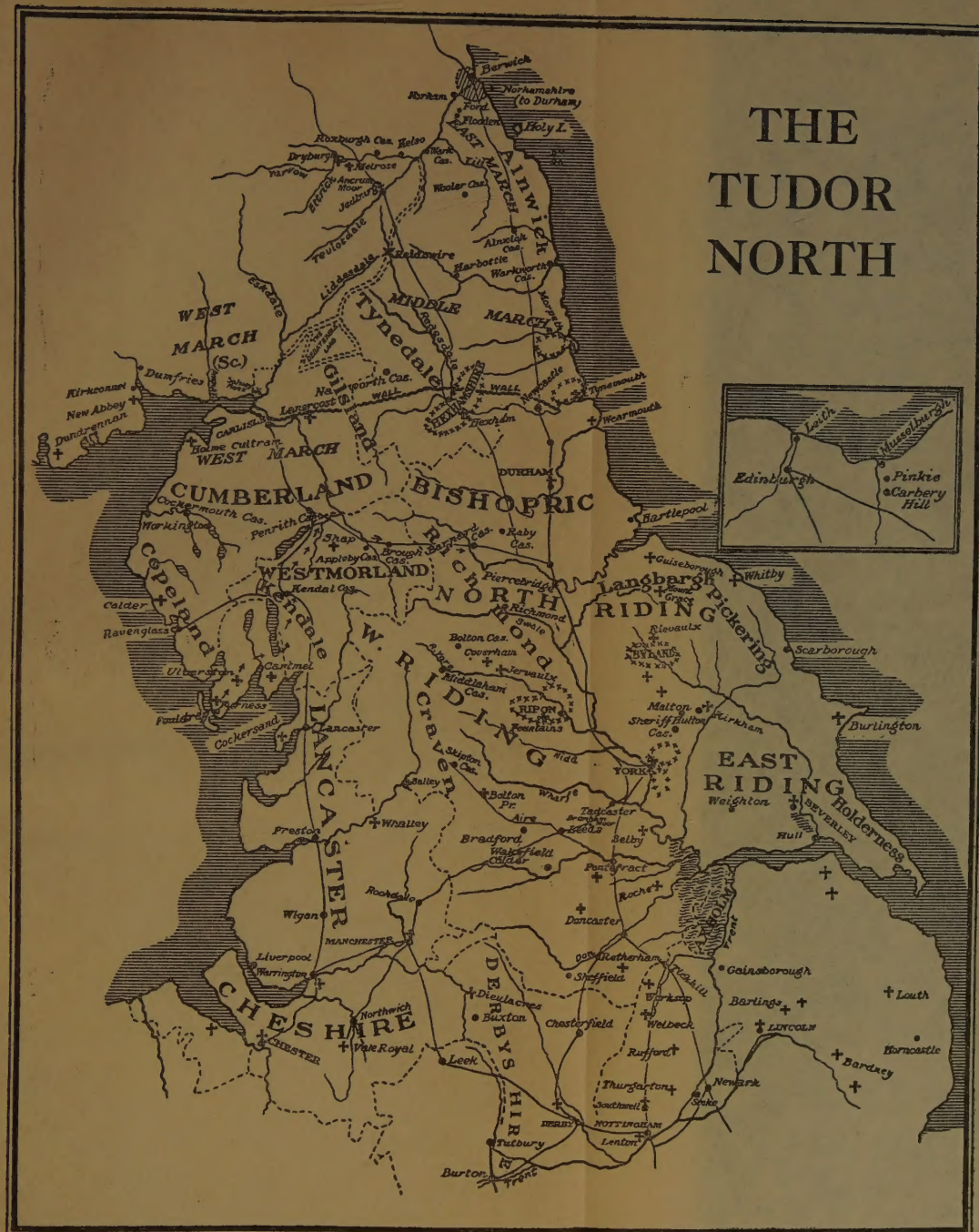
MAP

to illustrate the
CIVIL WAR
AND 1603-1688

- MAIN ROADS
- DOWN AND FIELD ROUTES Cavalry
- △ HELD FOR THE KING
- HELD FOR PARLIAMENT



THE TUDOR NORTH



+++ Special ecclesiastical franchises other than the Bishopric of Durham.

Important ecclesiastical centres, +

Principal religious houses, +.

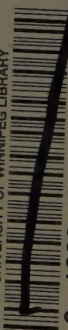
Castles and Towns, o.

Principal feudal baronies and honours:—Alnwick (Percy), Gilsland (Dacre, then Howard), Westmor-

land (Neville, then Clifford), Skipton-in-Craven and Kendal (Clifford). Pickering, Richmond, Holderness, Axholme, lands of Duchy of York, Duchy of Lancaster and County of Chester were from 1485 merged in the Crown.

→ → Route of Lambert Simnel.

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